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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

THE CONTEMPTIBLE YANKEES!

From The Richmond Whig, May 28.

* * * When the Yankees go to Lord John Russell and tell him that *Virginia*, which inaugurated civilization and freedom on this continent, is one of *their* rebel provinces—why, his lordship, who is as thin-visaged as a razor and as scant of flesh as an Egyptian mummy, will give them a grin, which will last them a lifetime. *They*, the makers and venders of tin cups and wooden clocks, the liege lords of the Old Dominion—the sovereign and independent State of Virginia! If anything could inflame the indignation and scorn which this atrocious war excites, it would be this Yankee pretension to superiority and supremacy. To be under the dominion of a lady, like Queen Victoria, distinguished by every virtue, would constitute a favorable exchange for the vulgar rule of a brutish blackguard, like Lincoln. To be conquered in open and manly fight by a nation of gentlemen, and subjected to their sway, might not drive us raving distracted with rage and shame; but for Yankees—the most contemptible and detestable of God's creation—the vile wretches whose daily sustenance consists in the refuse of all other people—for they eat nothing that anybody else will buy—for them to lord it over us—the English language must be enlarged, new words must be invented, to express the extent and depth of our feelings of mortification and shame. No, it is not possible that we can be reduced to a state which there are no words to describe.

Instead of this, we must bring these enfranchised slaves back to their true condition. They have long very properly looked upon themselves as our social inferiors—as our serfs; their mean, niggardly lives—their low, vulgar and sordid occupations—have ground this conviction into them. But of a sudden, they have come to imagine that their numerical strength gives them power—and they have burst the bonds of servitude, and are running riot with more than the brutal passions of a liberated wild beast. Their uprising has all the characteristics of a ferocious servile insurrection. Their first aim is demolition—the destruction of everything which has the appearance of superior virtue, which excites their envy and hate, and which, by contrast, exposes the shameful deformity of their own lives.

We, of the South, sought only to separate our destinies from theirs—content to leave them to pursue their own degraded tastes and vicious appetites as they might choose. But they will not leave us this privilege. They force us to subdue them or be subdued. They give us no alternative. They have suggested to us the invasion of their territory and the robbery of their banks and jewelry stores. We may profit by the suggestion, so far as the *invasion* goes—for that will enable us to restore them to their normal condition of vassalage, and teach them that cap-in-hand is the proper attitude of the servant before his master. As to the robbery of the banks and jewelry stores, which the gallant Col. Webb so much insists on—that we shall leave to their suffering poor.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

From The Richmond Whig, May 28.

This was the cry of Patrick Henry in the great struggle for our national independence. We believe, at this moment, it animates the hearts of all true Virginians. Indeed, we have never seen nor imagined anything comparable in the feeling which pervades this Commonwealth at this time. Since the foul invaders have polluted our soil with their footsteps, an irrepressible eagerness to give them bloody graves pervades all classes. Old and young, women and children, all share in the exciting and universal emotion. Death to the tyrants is not only on the lips, but in the hearts of our whole population. The restraints of military discipline are scarcely thought of in the intense and restless anxiety to rush on the foe and avenge in blood the outrage on our honor and freedom.

We confess to a thorough sympathy with this patriotic ardor, and know no refreshing sleep on account of the restless desire to be butchering the invading ruffians. But it is an impatience which we know should be moderated, and reduced to subordination to military discipline. Its unrestrained indulgence may bring more mischief on ourselves than on the enemy. We fear some such catastrophe. Let us, while we cherish an ardor and determination to resist to the death, remember that we have able military leaders, and put implicit confidence in the wisdom of their measures. *They are cheerful and confident at the prospect before us.* Let not the people be discouraged by any petty and temporary reverses that may befall us. The enemy have some advantages to start with; but we have advantages—the advantages of a brave and free people fighting for their firesides and freedom—against which all the hosts of despotism cannot prevail. We may be worsted to-day, but, cheered by liberty's manly voice, we will rally with redoubled energy for the fight to-morrow.

Let the bright example of Jackson of Alexandria animate every heart, and the memory of his sad fate impel the avenging steel of every Virginian. See in every Yankee the murderer of that patriot martyr!

THE UNION A BULWARK OF SLAVERY.

[Hon. J. Holt, of Kentucky, Postmaster General during the latter portion of Mr. Buchanan's Administration, has written a long letter to persuade the people of Kentucky to remain in the Union. One of his strongest points is, the security of slavery under the provisions of the Constitution. Read:]

The great thoroughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the Capital, or to the other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields, in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarantee the truthfulness of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts Regiment at once offered their services to suppress it.

So far as the slave States are concerned, their protection has been complete, and if it has not been, it has been the fault of their statesmen, who have had the control of the government since its foundation.

The census returns show that during the year 1860 the Fugitive Slave law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding ten years. Since the installation of President Lincoln, not a case has arisen in which the fugitive has not been returned, and that, too, without any opposition from the people. Indeed, *the fidelity with which it was understood to be the policy of the Administration to enforce the provisions of this law has caused a perfect panic among the runaway slaves in the free States*, and they have been escaping in multitudes to Canada, unpursued and unreclaimed by their masters. Is there found in this reason for a dissolution of the Union?

The Supreme Court has decided that the citizens of the slave States can, at will, take their slaves into all the Territories of the United States; and this decision, which has never been resisted or interfered with in a single case, is the law of the land, and the whole power of the government is pledged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present Administration I entertain no doubt. *A Republican Congress, at the late session, organized three new Territories, and in the organic law of neither was there introduced, or attempted to be introduced, the slightest restriction upon the rights of the Southern emigrant to bring his slaves with him.* At this moment, therefore, and I state it without qualification, there is not a Territory belonging to the United States into which the Southern people may not introduce their slaves at pleasure, and enjoy there complete protection. Kentucky should consider this great and undeniable fact, before which all the frothy rant of demagogues and Disunionists must disappear as a bank of fog before the wind.

Kentucky now enjoys for her peculiar institution the protection of the Fugitive Slave law, loyally enforced by the government, and it is this law, effective in its power of recapture, but infinitely more potent in its moral agency in preventing the escape of slaves, that alone saves that institution in the border States from utter extinction. She cannot carry this law with her into the new Confederacy. She will, virtually, have Canada brought to her doors in the form of free States, whose population, relieved of all moral and constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitive slaves, will stand, with open arms, inviting and welcoming them, and defending them, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. Under such influences, slavery will perish rapidly away in Kentucky, as a ball of snow would melt in a summer's sun.

Selections.

GEORGE THOMPSON AND DR. CHEEVER AT LEEDS.

From The Leeds (Eng.) Mercury, June 1, 1861.

The annual demonstration in connection with the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society took place in the Music Hall, on Tuesday evening, and there was a numerous and very respectable attendance.

The Mayor, James Kitson, Esq., on rising to open the proceedings, was received with applause. He said they were assembled together that evening at the invitation of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, to welcome amongst them gentlemen who were the representatives of a race which in another land were oppressed by their fellow-men, to manifest their sympathy with them and their fellows in bondage, to offer their aspirations to Almighty God that he would use the instrument at work on another continent for their liberation, and to express their confidence that such would be the result of the present struggle (applause). He concluded by calling upon

Mr. James Walker, one of the honorary secretaries, to read the annual report.

The Rev. F. Edwards briefly moved the first resolution, as follows:

"That human slavery, as it now exists in the North American continent, is a moral, physical, and social evil, a flagrant violation of God's laws, detrimental to the best interests of commerce, and opposed to every principle of natural justice, and therefore demands the censure and condemnation of every lover of liberty throughout the civilized world."

Mr. John Andrew seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Kinnaird, of Hamilton, Canada West, and adopted unanimously.

Mr. George Thompson, of London, was then called upon to address the meeting, and was warmly received. After referring to the fact mentioned by the Mayor, that thirty years had elapsed since he first uplifted his voice before a Leeds audience in the same cause as that which had collected them together, he observed that the resolution he had to propose referred to the war in America—asked them to deplore the evils with which it would be inevitably attended—but at the same time to express their earnest hope, and, if proof to warrant it could be furnished, their confident belief, that the issue of this war would be the entire and everlasting overthrow of slavery in America (applause). War was an unmixed evil; and nothing could be more affecting, more deplorable, more calculated to fill them with anguish, than the present aspect of things in the United States of America. From the Potomac to the Rio Grande, from the Atlantic to the base of the Alleghany mountains, everything was at present tending to a common object, and that object was murder. The war was not commenced to resist an invading force, nor to conquer some foreign adversary; it was a domestic war, a civil war, an internecine war, an unnatural war, a fratricidal war, a horrible war (hear). The evils of the war were certain. In magnitude, they were not to be grasped; no arithmetic could count the pecuniary loss, and no stretch of mind could conceive the injury that would be done to the country in a moral point of view. In England they were not called upon to furnish their sons for the war, but it might bring upon them other calamities. There was a calamity impending over this country than which, war excluded, nothing could be of a more fearful character. A famine of cotton would be infinitely worse than a famine of bread; for if the harvest were smitten by blight, or the earth were to remain sterile by reason of drought, a supply of food might be obtained from other countries to which God had granted a superfluity, but if they experienced a famine of cotton, that was a calamity for which there was no remedy. In that case, there would be stagnation, and idleness, and hunger, and discontent, and dissatisfaction, and, it might be, revolution. The cause of the war was simply and solely slavery. The North was just as much answerable for the present state of things as the South; for it was the recreancy of the North to principle in the framing of the Constitution that allowed slavery to become incorporated with their Union at all. There was the great mistake, and during the seventy years that had passed since, until about eight years ago, the North was a consenting party to all the iniquities of the South. The North, however, had at last awakened to a sense of the impending danger, and of the ultimate success of the North over the South there could be no doubt. The population of the Southern States, whether slaves or not, was 12,000,000, of which the free population was 8,000,000, and the slave population 4,000,000. The slaveholders were only some 350,000 amongst the 8,000,000, so that there were 31,000,000 of human beings plunged into fratricidal war for the exclusive benefit of 350,000 of the people of the country (hear). It should never enter into their calculation that the North would be the victim. The South was poor in resources, the North was omnipotent and exhaustless; the South had no navy, the North could command any amount of naval power for the blockade of the Southern coasts or for any other purpose; the South had no money, the money of the North was abundant, and the credit of the North unlimited. Mr. Russell, in his last published letter from the Southern States, declared that there were not more than 30,000 soldiers in South Carolina, and more than half of these would be inevitably required at home on the plantations to which they belonged. There were rumors of servile insurrections; there was not a State in the Union in which the slaves were not prepared to take advantage of what is occurring; and he did not believe that the South could command the resources which would enable her to keep the field for the next six months (hear, hear). On the side of the North, however, there was perfect union. The highest enthusiasm and devotion were displayed, and the spirit of self-sacrifice was manifested in a way which the world had scarcely ever witnessed. The Western States had offered 250,000 men; New York had already 100,000; and President Lincoln could at this moment call into the field half a million men, besides 2,000,000 more who were ready if they were wanted (applause). The abolition of slavery was not among the declared objects of this war; and, inasmuch as it was not, he should feel little interest in it if he did not confidently believe that what was not declared would, nevertheless, be attained. But if it did not take an anti-slavery direction, and lead to the extinction for ever of that which was the cause of all the disquiet, and discord, and contention, and misunderstanding, and quarrel that had ever occurred between the States—if it ended without the national arm tearing up by the roots this upas tree of slavery, and brandishing it in triumph over the heads of the tyrants, then he should say that America, and the North especially, was utterly unworthy of the sympathy, and still less of the admiration of this country (cheers). The prospects that the war would take an abolition turn, he thought, were good. A great many in the North, who were not Abolitionists before, had been made so by the treatment recently received at the hands of the South; and the most influential inhabitants and the principal leading journals were beginning to take a right view of the question (hear, hear). The colored men of the United States, too, were not idle (hear, hear). They were ready, and would not be wanting in the hour of need. In Philadelphia alone there were 5,000 ready, and they had not been idle nor unobservant in any of the other towns in which they mostly resided. The fugitive slaves in Canada were also waiting for their share in the great work which was to be done. They would go to the war, and they would not go for nothing (hear, hear). And, finally, there were the slaves themselves, whom they should certainly not leave out of sight in considering this question (hear, hear). In what he had said he hoped he should not be understood to look with pleasure or complacence on war; but, inasmuch as he knew that men settled their affairs by war, that great events had been evolved from war, and that there is One who sits above the smoke of the battle, working out his own designs, and who causes the wrath of man to praise him, and the despotism, and infatuation, and madness of tyrants to prepare the very liberty which they would withhold from mankind—he believed that in a great clash and contest like this, they might be permitted to wish God speed to those who fight for the maintenance of justice, the establishment of liberty, and the happiness of the whole human race (loud cheers). Mr. Thompson concluded by moving the following resolution.

"That, however much we may deplore the fatal consequences which must necessarily accompany the civil war which has already broken out in the United States, we cannot but rejoice in the hope that it will result in the liberation of the slave, and would therefore encourage the American Abolitionists to secure this opportunity of impressing upon the American people and government the necessity of removing the curse of slavery from their midst, and thus effectually cut off the source of the evil now multiplying around them."

[Dr. Cheever then made a stirring speech, which we omit only because it was, in substance, identical with that made at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and published by us last week. Rev. W. H. Day and Rev. W. Troy, of Canada, followed in brief addresses, more briefly reported. From an editorial article in *The Mercury* we take this short extract.]

The meeting of the Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society took place on Tuesday evening. Of course, it derived a more than usual interest from the present circumstances of the American Union. The interest was, moreover, still further deepened by the attendance of Mr. George Thompson, the well-known and eloquent lecturer upon this subject, and of Dr. Cheever, one of the most determined and able opponents of American slavery that the Northern States have yet produced. We confess we think Dr. Cheever hardly did justice to the English press in complaining that, while discussing the American war, it nearly ignored the rights of the slave. As a general rule, the rights of the slave and the wrongs and wickedness of slavery have been recognized in England as fully as it is possible to recognize them. If, during the early part of the present contest between North and South, the English press did not say much upon the subject of slavery, it was because the question of slavery scarcely arose. No doubt in its origin slavery played by far the deepest part, but neither party to the contest came forth as the opponents of slavery. The South was its avowed upholder; but the North was in no respect its assailant. The very case of the Republicans—that which their advocates in this country and in America have always insisted upon—was that slavery was not assailed, that the alarm of the South was unfounded, that each State would be master of its own policy upon this subject, that the rights of the slave-master were sacred, and that the prevention of the spread of slavery to the unoccupied Territories was the only point in which they differed from their opponents, the Secessionists. With such a theory of action, it is hardly wonderful that the press of England should have but little expectation of improvement in the condition of the slaves. It is only just lately that the contest has assumed anything resembling a slavery and anti-slavery character. Since Virginia seceded, since North Carolina threatened, since Maryland exerted all her influence in favor of the rebels, it has become more probable that the conflict will range itself around the question of slavery, that the North will grow increasingly convinced of the evils of this blighting institution, and more thoroughly determined to sweep away forever a curse which has already shaken their vast system of government, and may, if further developed, end in laying it even with the ground.

The shifting of the quarrel to this issue is, for now, by no means certain, but we believe that it is probable, indeed that in the long run this must be the point in dispute. The North will gain nothing by deferring the day. On the contrary, the evil and corruption will become more deeply ingrained and more difficult to uproot. We feel certain that in the end the battle must be fought out on this ground, because it is admitted on all hands that slavery lies at the root of the whole contest.

THE IMPENDING COMPROMISE.

The great peril of the Republic now imminent is not so much a feeble, aimless, ineffective prosecution of the war for the Union, as a premature and shameful peace, which shall render all the perils and sacrifices already incurred of no avail. We are assured that already secret agents of the traitors are in Washington and this city, trying to ensnare leading Democrats into backstairs arrangements for putting an end to the struggle by some muddle that can be called a compromise. They profess to desire a formal separation and a recognition of the independence of the rebel Confederacy; but, as they know this will not be entertained, they hint that perhaps a reconstruction which involved a full guaranty of "the rights of the South" might not prove inadmissible. In some quarters, it is vaguely given out that the Crittenden proposition, guaranteeing the existence of slavery in all present and future territory south of 36 deg. 30 min., would not be rejected without careful consideration. And from another quarter we hear that President Davis would be very happy to accommodate President Lincoln with an armistice of sixty or ninety days, to afford time for negotiations!

These various feelers all imply the same great truth. The finances of the "Confederate States" are in a condition of hopeless collapse. The new and desperate expedient of making their Treasury Notes a legal tender, and exchanging them for the notes of all their banks, is simply a contrivance for absorbing the specie of the New Orleans banks, and whatever other movable capital may remain in the South, into the gulf of universal bankruptcy. The "Confederate" armies are cowed if not disorganized. They dare not step on the soil of the loyal States. They dare not attack Cairo, nor Pickens, nor our lines in front of Alexandria and Arlington. They dare not meet the Unionists in fair and open battle. These rebel soldiers get no pay, and their ranks require constant reinforcement by drafts and conscriptions. Washington having become sour grapes to their leaders, who are at their wit's end for provisions, arms, and munitions, they would like to improve their solemn circumstances in any possible manner—fighting being the recourse that they have least stomach for. Yet they *may* be driven even to that.

There are a few primary truths that should be borne steadily in mind—these, namely:

1. To enter into an armistice with the traitors is, in effect, to acknowledge their independence. An armistice between warring nations may be proper; between a rightful government and a wicked rebellion its advantages must all inure to the latter. Equality is the implied basis of every armistice.

2. The rebels are in a state of virtual famine, from which an armistice would instantly relieve them. They would sell their remaining tobacco, sugar and cotton, buying in return arms, ammunition and breadstuffs. They would thus be enabled to resume hostilities with immensely increased power of doing mischief.

3. Their wheat crop is already ripe or ripening at the far south. Forty to sixty days hence, they will be grinding new corn and eating it. They might then subsist a large army at half the present cost.

4. They now pretend that they have 150,000 men under arms in Virginia. We do not believe it; and it is morally certain that they cannot concentrate 100,000 and hold them together through a bare fortnight, for want of tents, wagons, provisions, etc. Their boasted numbers, then, if they had them, would avail little against a large, compact, well-appointed, advancing army.

5. Were a Union force of one hundred thousand men, with artillery, cavalry, and ample supplies, now ready to move from Washington on Richmond, it would not be necessary to attack strongly-intrenched and fortified positions, such as Manassas Gap is said to be or is to be. Such positions might be safely turned or observed, so long as it is morally certain that famine must soon compel their abandonment in default of fresh and constant supplies; it may or may not be the same after harvest.

—As to the coming project of compromise, which the assemblage of Congress three weeks hence is certain to inaugurate, we ask that these facts be maturely considered:

1. The moral effect of Gen. Jackson's decisive dealing with Nullification in 1833 was greatly impaired if not destroyed by the simultaneous passage of the compromise tariff. To this day, the ignorant Southern multitude believe that Nullification compelled or "coerced" the repeal of the tariff of 1832.

2. There is no pretence that there is now any law on the statute-book of the Union that at all trenches on the rights of the slave States. On the contrary, the Territorial acts of last winter were such as they could not and did not complain of. And the traitors were perfectly aware, at the time they inaugurated secession, that they had the next Congress already secured to slavery in either branch, had they chosen simply to stay in the Union and behave themselves. They bolted from the Union, just as they bolted a year ago from the Democratic National Convention, because they didn't *want* to have their own way, choosing to be beaten and raise a breeze over it. They wanted a grievance. If they now force a new compromise upon us, it will not be because they think they need one, but because they want to boast and enjoy the *prestige* of backing down the North.

3. No matter what may be the terms of a new compromise or fix-up respecting slavery in the Territories, the naked fact that one is made the essential condition of peace will be trumpeted through the South as the triumph of rebellion. "They wouldn't give us this till we declared our independence," will be the cry; "but *that* brought them to hook." If, then, it were but the most insignificant and matter-of-course proposition respecting slavery in the Territories that was insisted on as a condition of peace, we should strenuously object to it. The objection to submitting to a dictation of the policy of the Union by rebellion is fundamental and invincible.

Still, from the moment of the assemblage of Congress, the Ben. Woods and Vallandighams of the House will busy themselves with concocting and promoting schemes of asserted compromise, with a view to paralyzing the energies of the loyal States and strengthening the hands of the rebels. If they succeed, rebellion will have been consecrated as a successful mode of recovering whatever was lost by a political defeat, and the Spanish-American republics will have become the patterns and precursors of our own future career. Need we add that that career must tend rapidly downward?—*Tribune.*

THE WAR IN ITS RELATIONS TO SLAVERY.

A LETTER FROM JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

To the Editor of The New York Tribune:

Sir: Our country is opening up a new page in the history of governments. The world has never witnessed such a spontaneous uprising of any people in support of free institutions as that now exhibited by the citizens of our Northern States.

I observe that the vexed question of slavery still has to be met, both in the Cabinet and in the field. It has been met by former Presidents, by former Cabinets, and by former military officers. They have established a train of precedents that may be well followed at this day. I write now for the purpose of inviting attention to those principles of international law which are regarded by publicists and jurists as proper guides in the exercise of that despotic and almost unlimited authority called the "war power." A synopsis of these doctrines was given by Maj.-Gen. Gaines, at New Orleans, in 1838.

General Jessup had captured many fugitive slaves and Indians in Florida, and had ordered them to be sent west of the Mississippi. At New Orleans they were claimed by the owners under legal process; but Gen. Gaines, commanding that military district, refused to deliver them to the sheriff, and appeared in court, stating his own defence.

He declared that these people (men, women, and children), *were captured in war, and held as "prisoners of war."* That, as commander of that military department or district, he held them subject only to the order of the National Executive; that he could recognize no other power in time of war, or by the laws of war, as authorized to take prisoners from his possession.

He asserted that in time of war *all slaves were belligerents*, as much as their masters. The slave man, said he, cultivate earth and supply provisions. The women cook the food, nurse the wounded and sick, and contribute to the maintenance of the war, often more than the same number of males. The slave children equally contribute whatever they are able to the support of the war. Indeed he well supported General Butler's declaration, that "*slaves are contraband of war.*"

The military officer, said he, can enter into no judicial examination of the claim of one man to the bones and muscle of another as property. Nor could he, as a military officer, know what the laws of Florida were while engaged in maintaining the Federal government by force of arms. In such case he could only be guided by the laws of war; and, whatever may be the laws of any State, they must yield to the safety of the Federal government. This defence of Gen. Gaines may be found in House Doc. No. 225, of the 2d Session of the 25th Congress. He sent the slaves West, where they became free.

Louis, the slave of a man named Pacheco, betrayed Major Dade's battalion, in 1836, and when he had witnessed their massacre he joined the enemy. Two years subsequently he was captured. Pacheco claimed him; Gen. Jessup said if he had time he would try him before a court-martial and hang him, but would not deliver him to any man. He, however, sent him West, and the fugitive slave became a free man, and is now fighting the Texans. Gen. Jessup reported his action to the War Department, and Mr. Van Buren, then President, with his Cabinet, approved it. Pacheco then appealed to Congress, asking that body to pay him for the loss of his slave; and Mr. Greeley will recollect that he and myself and a majority of the House of Representatives voted against the bill, which was rejected. All concurred in the opinion that Gen. Jessup did right in emancipating the slave instead of returning him to his master.

In 1838 Gen. Taylor captured a number of negroes said to be fugitive slaves. Citizens of Florida learning what had been done, immediately gathered around his camp intending to secure the slaves who had escaped from them. Gen. Taylor told them that he had no prisoners but "prisoners of war." The claimants then desired to look at them in order to determine whether he was holding their slaves as prisoners. The veteran warrior replied that no man should examine his prisoners for such a purpose; and he ordered them to depart. This action being reported to the War Department was approved by the Executive. The slaves, however, were sent West and set free.

In 1836 Gen. Jessup wanted guides and men to act as spies. He therefore engaged several fugitive slaves to act as such, agreeing to secure the freedom of themselves and families if they served the government faithfully. They agreed to do so, fulfilled their agreement, were sent West and set free. Mr. Van Buren's Administration approved the contract, and Mr. Tyler's Administration approved the manner in which Gen. Jessup fulfilled it, by setting the slaves free.

In December, 1814, Gen. Jackson impressed a large number of slaves at and near New Orleans, and kept them at work erecting defences, behind which his troops won such glory on the 8th of January, 1815. The masters remonstrated. Jackson disregarded their remonstrances, and kept the slaves at work until many of them were killed by the enemy's shots; yet his action was approved by Mr. Madison and Cabinet, and by Congress, which has ever refused to pay the masters for their loss. But in all these cases, the masters were professedly friends of the government; yet our Presidents and Cabinets and Generals have not hesitated to emancipate their slaves, whenever in time of war it was supposed to be for the interest of the country to do so. This was done in the exercise of the "war power" to which Mr. Adams referred in Congress, and for which he had the most abundant authority. But I think no records of this nation, nor of any other nation, will show an instance in which a fugitive slave has been sent back to a master who was in rebellion against the very government who held his slave as captive.

From these precedents I deduce the following doctrine:

1. That slaves belonging to an enemy are now, and have ever been regarded as belligerents; may be lawfully captured and set free, sent out of the State, or otherwise disposed of at the will of the Executive.

2. That as slaves enable an enemy to continue and carry on the war now waged against our government, it becomes the duty of all officers and loyal citizens to use every proper means to induce the slaves to leave their masters, and cease lending aid and comfort to the rebels.

3. That in all cases it becomes the duty of the Executive, and of all Executive officers and loyal citizens, to aid, assist, and encourage those slaves who have escaped from rebel masters to continue their flight and maintain their liberty.

4. That to send back a fugitive slave to a rebel master would be lending aid and assistance to the rebellion. That those who arrest and send back such fugitives identify themselves with the enemies of our government, and should be indicted and punished as traitors.

J. R. Giddings.

Montreal, June 6, 1861.

SOUTH CAROLINA HATES NEW ENGLAND.

By William Howard Russell, LL.D., Barrister-at-Law, the Special Correspondent of The London Times.

April 30, 1861.

Nothing I could say can be worth one fact which has forced itself upon my mind in reference to the sentiments which prevail among the gentlemen of this State. I have been among them for several days. I have visited their plantations, I have conversed with them freely and fully, and I have enjoyed that frank, courteous, and graceful intercourse which constitutes an irresistible charm of their society. From all quarters have come to my ears the echoes of the same voice; it may be feigned, but there is no discord in the note, and it sounds in wonderful strength and monotony all over the country. Shades of George III., of North, of Johnson, of all who contended against the great rebellion which tore these colonies from England, can you hear the chorus which rings through the State of Marion, Sumter, and Pinckney, and not clap your ghostly hands in triumph? That voice says, "If we could only get one of the royal race of England to rule over us, we should be content." Let there be no misconception on this point. That sentiment, varied in a hundred ways, has been repeated to me over and over again. There is a general admission that the means to such an end are wanting, and that the desire cannot be gratified. But the admiration for monarchical institutions on the English model, for privileged classes, and for a landed aristocracy and gentry, is undisguised and apparently genuine. With the pride of having achieved their independence is mingled in the South Carolinians' hearts a strange regret at the result and consequences, and many are they who "would go back to-morrow if we could." An intense affection for the British connection, a love of British habits and customs, a respect for British sentiment, law, authority, order, civilization, and literature, preëminently distinguish the inhabitants of this State, who, glorying in their descent from ancient families on the three islands, whose fortunes they still follow, and with whose members they maintain not unfrequently familiar relations, regard with an aversion of which it is impossible to give an idea to one who has not seen its manifestations, the people of New England and the populations of the Northern States, whom they regard as tainted beyond cure by the venom of "Puritanism." Whatever may be the cause, this is the fact and the effect. "The State of South Carolina was," I am told, "founded by gentlemen." It was not established by witch-burning Puritans, by cruel persecuting fanatics, who implanted in the North the standard of Torquemada, and breathed into the nostrils of their newly-born colonies all the ferocity, bloodthirstiness, and rabid intolerance of the Inquisition. It is absolutely astounding to a stranger who aims at the preservation of a decent neutrality to mark the violence of these opinions. "If that confounded ship had sunk with those —— Pilgrim Fathers on board," says one, "we never should have been driven to these extremities!" "We could have got on with the fanatics if they had been either Christians or gentlemen," says another; "for in the first case they would have acted with common charity, and in the second they would have fought when they insulted us; but there are neither Christians nor gentlemen among them!" "Anything on the earth!" exclaims a third, "any form of government, any tyranny or despotism you will; but"—and here is an appeal more terrible than the adjuration of all the gods—"nothing on earth shall ever induce us to submit to any union with the brutal, bigoted blackguards of the New England States, who neither comprehend nor regard the feelings of gentlemen! Man, woman, and child, we'll die first." Imagine these and we find a variety of similar sentiments uttered by courtly, well-educated men, who set great store on a nice observance of the usages of society, and who are only moved to extreme bitterness and anger when they speak of the North, and you will fail to conceive the intensity of the dislike of the South Carolinians for the free States. There are national antipathies on our side of the Atlantic which are tolerably strong, and have been unfortunately pertinacious and long-lived. The hatred of the Italian for the Tedesco, of the Greek for the Turk, of the Turk for the Russ, is warm and fierce enough to satisfy the Prince of Darkness, not to speak of a few little pet aversions among allied Powers and the atoms of composite empires; but they are all mere indifference and neutrality of feeling compared to the animosity evinced by the "gentry" of South Carolina for the "rabble of the North."

The contests of Cavalier and Roundhead, of Vendean and Republican, even of Orangeman and Croppy, have been elegant joustings, regulated by the finest rules of chivalry, compared with those which North and South will carry on if their deeds support their words. "Immortal hate, the study of revenge," will actuate every blow, and never in the history of the world, perhaps, will go forth such a dreadful *vœ victis* as that which may be heard before the fight has begun. There is nothing in all the dark caves of human passion so cruel and deadly as the hatred the South Carolinians profess for the Yankees. That hatred has been swelling for years till it is the very life-blood of the State. It has set South Carolina to work steadily to organize her resources for the struggle which she intended to provoke if it did not come in the course of time. "Incompatibility of temper" would have been sufficient ground for the divorce, and I am satisfied that there has been a deep-rooted design, conceived in some men's minds thirty years ago, and extended gradually year after year to others, to break away from the Union at the very first opportunity. The North is to South Carolina a corrupt and evil thing, to which for long years she has been bound by burning chains, while monopolists and manufacturers fed on her tender limbs. She has been bound in a Maxentian union to the object she loathes. New England is to her the incarnation of moral and political wickedness and social corruption. It is the source of everything which South Carolina hates, and of the torrents of free thought and taxed manufactures, of abolitionism and of filibustering, which have flooded the land. Believe a Southern man as he believes himself, and you must regard New England and the kindred States as the birth-place of impurity of mind among men and of unchastity in women—the home of free love, of Fourierism, of infidelity, of abolitionism, of false teachings in political economy and in social life; a land saturated with the drippings of rotten philosophy, with the poisonous infections of a fanatic press; without honor or modesty; whose wisdom is paltry cunning, whose valor and manhood have been swallowed up in a corrupt, howling demagogy, and in the marts of a dishonest commerce. It is the merchants of New York who fit out ships for the slave trade, and carry it on in Yankee ships. It is the capital of the North which supports, and it is Northern men who concoct and execute, the filibustering expeditions which have brought discredit on the slaveholding States. In the large cities people are corrupted by itinerant and ignorant lecturers—in the towns and in the country by an unprincipled press. The populations, indeed, know how to read and write, but they don't know how to think, and they are the easy victims of the wretched impostors on all the 'ologies and isms who swarm over the region, and subsist by lecturing on subjects which the innate vices of mankind induce them to accept with eagerness, while they assume the garb of philosophical abstractions to cover their nastiness in deference to a contemptible and universal hypocrisy.

"Who fills the butchers' shops with large blue flies?"

Assuredly the New England demon who has been persecuting the South until its intolerable cruelty and insolence forced her, in a spasm of agony, to rend her chains asunder. The New Englander must have something to persecute; and as he has hunted down all his Indians, burnt all his witches, and persecuted all his opponents to the death, he invented abolitionism as the sole resource left to him for the gratification of his favorite passion. Next to this motive principle is his desire to make money dishonestly, trickily, meanly, and shabbily. He has acted on it in all his relations with the South, and has cheated and plundered her in all his dealings by villanous tariffs. If one objects that the South must have been a party to this, because her boast is that her statesmen have ruled the government of the country, you are told that the South yielded out of pure good nature. Now, however, she will have free trade, and will open the coasting trade to foreign nations, and shut out from it the hated Yankees, who so long monopolized and made their fortunes by it. Under all the varied burdens and miseries to which she was subjected, the South held fast to her sheet-anchor. South Carolina was the mooring ground in which it found the surest hold. The doctrine of State Rights was her salvation, and the fiercer the storm raged against her—the more stoutly demagogy, immigrant preponderance, and the blasts of universal suffrage bore down on her, threatening to sweep away the vested interests of the South in her right to govern the States—the greater was her confidence and the more resolutely she held on her cable. The North attracted "hordes of ignorant Germans and Irish," and the scum of Europe, while the South repelled them. The industry, the capital of the North increased with enormous rapidity, under the influence of cheap labor and manufacturing ingenuity and enterprise, in the villages which swelled into towns, and the towns which became cities, under the unenvious eye of the South. She, on the contrary, toiled on slowly, clearing forests and draining swamps to find new cotton grounds and rice fields, for the employment of her only industry and for the development of her only capital—"involuntary labor." The tide of immigration waxed stronger, and by degrees she saw the districts into which she claimed the right to introduce that capital closed against her, and occupied by free labor. The doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," and the force of hostile tariffs, which placed a heavy duty on the very articles which the South most required, completed the measure of injuries to which she was subjected, and the spirit of discontent found vent in fiery debate, in personal insults, and in acrimonious speaking and writing, which increased in intensity in proportion as the abolition movement, and the contest between the Federal principle and State Rights, became more vehement. I am desirous of showing in a few words, for the information of English readers, how it is that the Confederacy which Europe knew simply as a political entity has succeeded in dividing itself. The slave States held the doctrine, or say they did, that each State was independent as France or as England, but that for certain purposes they chose a common agent to deal with foreign nations, and to impose taxes for the purpose of paying the expenses of the agency. We, it appears, talked of American citizens when there were no such beings at all. There were, indeed, citizens of the sovereign State of South Carolina, or of Georgia or Florida, who permitted themselves to pass under that designation, but it was merely as a matter of personal convenience. It will be difficult for Europeans to understand this doctrine, as nothing like it has been heard before, and no such Confederation of sovereign States has ever existed in any country in the world. The Northern men deny that it existed here, and claim for the Federal government powers not compatible with such assumptions. *They* have lived for the Union, they served it, they labored for and made money by it. A man as a New York man was nothing—as an American citizen he was a great deal. A South Carolinian objected to lose his identity in any description which included him and a "Yankee clockmaker" in the same category. The Union was against him; he remembered that he came from a race of English gentlemen who had been persecuted by the representatives—for he will not call them the ancestors—of the Puritans of New England, and he thought that they were animated by the same hostility to himself. He was proud of old names, and he felt pleasure in tracing his connection with old families in the old country. His plantations were held by old charters, or had been in the hands of his fathers for several generations; and he delighted to remember that when the Stuarts were banished from their throne and their country, the burgesses of South Carolina had solemnly elected the wandering Charles king of their State, and had offered him an asylum and a kingdom. The philosophical historian may exercise his ingenuity in conjecturing what would have been the result if the fugitive had carried his fortunes to Charleston.

South Carolina contains 34,000 square miles and a population of 720,000 inhabitants, of whom 385,000 are black slaves. In the old rebellion it was distracted between revolutionary principles and the loyalist predilections, and at least one half of the planters were faithful to George III., nor did they yield till Washington sent an army to support their antagonists, and drove them from the colony.

In my next letter I shall give a brief account of a visit to some of the planters, as far as it can be made consistent with the obligations which the rites and rights of hospitality impose on the guest as well as upon the host. These gentlemen are well-bred, courteous, and hospitable. A genuine aristocracy, they have time to cultivate their minds, to apply themselves to politics and the guidance of public affairs. They travel and read, love field sports, racing, shooting, hunting and fishing, are bold horsemen, and good shots. But, after all, their State is a modern Sparta—an aristocracy resting on a helotry, and with nothing else to rest upon. Although they profess (and I believe, indeed, sincerely) to hold opinions in opposition to the opening of the slave trade, it is nevertheless true that the clause in the Constitution of the Confederate States which prohibited the importation of negroes was especially and energetically resisted by them, because, as they say, it seemed to be an admission that slavery was in itself an evil and a wrong. Their whole system rests on slavery, and as such they defend it. They entertain very exaggerated ideas of the military strength of their little community, although one may do full justice to its military spirit. Out of their whole population they cannot reckon more than 60,000 adult men by any arithmetic, and as there are nearly 30,000 plantations which must be, according to law, superintended by white men, a considerable number of these adults cannot be spared from the State for service in the open field. The planters boast that they can raise their crops without any inconvenience by the labor of their negroes, and they seem confident that the negroes will work without superintendence. But the experiment is rather dangerous, and it will only be tried in the last extremity.

SOUTHERN DEGENERACY.

Dickens, the great analyst of human nature, somewhere describes the effect of dry rot upon individuals. It is a curious, somewhat phenomenal sort of decay, akin to that which eats to powder the tough fibre of the oaken beam while leaving its external aspect almost unchanged. The approaches of dry rot are insidious. Suppose Brown to have been seized with it, he exhibits an imperceptible tendency to lounge; little indications of neglect blossom out upon his attire; your letter of Wednesday he replies to, perhaps, on Saturday, making some vague excuse for the delay. He develops a tendency to loiter aimlessly about, wearing a thin pretence of being occupied with something useful. Presently you remark in Brown an apathy of manner in the morning, a tremulousness of hand and a faint approach of pallor, indicative of irregularities. His note goes to protest, perhaps. He takes it up, pays the notary's fee, and, declaring it to be a mistake, plunges with energy into his business, and makes quite a dust for a day or two. By and by you remark about him an odor of strong waters. At this stage, ten to one you will also observe fitful bursts of energy, immediately followed by relapses of pathetic inactivity and irresolution. Brown is now habitually slipshod, both in garment and in manner. He is in debt, likewise, and spends much of his time in indignant remonstrance with duns. At this stage of the ravages of dry rot he takes on an air of general bravado. He is a gentleman. Is he to be badgered in this manner with paltry bills? He is a person of family and consequence, he will have you to know. He flouts his faded magnificence in your face. He is conscious of degradation, but he will brazen it out. This is the final stage of Brown's demoralization. He attempts, on occasion, to brazen it out with the constituted guardians of the peace, whereupon he suddenly finds himself in the watch-house with a wet bandage about his head, and a charge of wanton assault lodged against him before the magistrate.

The case of the South is precisely analogous to that which we have stated. It is approaching the final stage of dry rot. It has been progressing steadily through the intermediate stages for half a century. It has taken slavery to its heart as the sot takes the cup to his lips. It has seen its fine valleys wither and grow desolate under the fatal regimen with the same apathy that the drunkard beholds the dissipation of his estate. It has seen the North building up noble material prosperity; a civilization of intelligence, cultivation and industry; a broad and catholic educational system; a public credit marvellous in the rapidity of its creation and the stability of its structure; a national fame for physical and intellectual achievements while itself, like the fat weed that roots itself in ease on Lethe's wharf, has swung hither and thither on idle tides—ignoble, aimless, its history written with the lash, its material

[illegible] —*The World.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1861.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Those sending matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters relating to [illegible], or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

ANTI-SLAVERY CELEBRATION OF THE FOURTH OF JULY.

THE usual Anti-Slavery Celebration of Independence Day, in mass meeting, will be held in the beautiful and commodious Grove at FRAMINGHAM, on THURSDAY, July 4th, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Hitherto, it has never failed to secure a multitudinous gathering of the [illegible] friends of universal liberty, from various parts of the Commonwealth; and the circumstances of the [illegible] warrant the expectation, that the number will be largely augmented at the approaching anniversary.

A most cordial invitation to be present is extended to all who love freedom for those who are unjustly deprived of it, as well as for themselves: who desire to witness the [illegible] and utter overthrow of that hideous slave system which has so long consigned to [illegible] millions of unoffending men, women and children, and out of which all our national divisions and troubles proceed, as deadly waters from a poisoned fountain: and whose hope is to see in the star spangled banner, ere the present civil conflict terminate, the symbol of unconditional emancipation from ocean to ocean.

Special trains will run from Boston, Worcester, Milford, Marlboro' and [illegible] at half price. [Particulars hereafter.]

[illegible] of able and eloquent speakers on the occasion.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
SAMUEL MAY, JR.,
HENRY O. STONE,
WILLIAM A. HOVEY,
E. H. HEYWOOD,
[illegible] W. STACY,
Committee of Arrangements.

THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND.

WE [illegible] Americans have been a little unreasonable in our strictures on the course of England since the rebellion broke out. We have not made allowance for the constitutional phlegm and habitual [illegible] of the cautious islanders in judging and acting in a perfectly new state of affairs. But the [illegible] which seemed to dim their perception [illegible] fast getting into as favorable a position towards us as we have any right to expect. [illegible] of perfect and absolute neutrality. We ask and will receive no help from England in the chastisement we propose giving to our mutinous slave-drivers; but we have a right to demand that no help should be extended to them. And most material help it would be if the English government should permit them to legalize their piracy upon our commerce by allowing them to erect prize courts and sell their ships and cargoes in English ports. But by the [illegible] of Lord John it would seem that this is not to be suffered to be done. How far this is consistent with the recognition of the Confederate States as belligerents, is for Lord John to settle, and it is [illegible] from the dilemma in which he placed the nation by his first unconsidered words. [illegible] government never lacks a way of [illegible] which it finds untenable [illegible] of what use is it to have statesmen? It would have been more friendly [illegible] to us, if the British government had waited till Jeff. Davis had shown himself to be [illegible] before recognizing him as such. But this is a mere matter of punctilio and etiquette, if [illegible] entangle England in an alliance [illegible] with the slave-driving Republic. [illegible] ill-blood it will be likely to [illegible] how it can produce any [illegible].

But we think that we asked too much when we expected the English people and rulers to see things in this country as they really are in the first twinkling [illegible] upon them. We have hardly recovered from our own surprise at finding how much [illegible] than we had supposed ourselves, and we should not [illegible] that John Bull should not have [illegible] by intuition. We have [illegible] to excite his respect for [illegible] the present generation [illegible] and we should not complain [illegible] longer at our old [illegible]. When the statesmen of England [illegible] years by the [illegible] in numbers and [illegible] expected them to [illegible] a radical [illegible] requires [illegible] in its reality [illegible]. The slavedrivers having always [illegible], it was not [illegible] domination [illegible] upon as a [illegible] adequate [illegible] and [illegible] this civil [illegible] new [illegible] again [illegible] will [illegible] government [illegible]. Indeed, [illegible] or the other of [illegible] by [illegible] in Congress as a [illegible] now on foot and in the field; though the possibility grows daily less probable at [illegible] in its first and most hideous shape.

Now, we should remember that Jeff. Davis [illegible] of England for that power which [illegible] since it was born. Why should we [illegible] as [illegible]? [illegible] the [illegible] which gives bread to millions of operatives and wealth to thousands of capitalists. Why should it not look at the first glance at least, as if it were more for the interest of England to keep on good terms with them rather than with us? And when we recollect how very dark our political look-out looked not longer ago than last winter, when there was serious reason for doubting whether the constitutionally elected President would be permitted to be inaugurated, and for apprehending that the slave-driving rebels would possess themselves of the Capitol and the archives and parchments of the nation—when we recollect all this we should not find fault with Englishmen for not being so much more clear-sighted than we were ourselves. When secret associations were known to exist in all the Northern cities for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the United States government, in conspiracy with the slave States, when free speech on slavery was silenced by violence all over the free States, and when the Republican party did not dare to protect it, what reason had the English to believe in the magic power of the first gun fired on Fort Sumter to startle the North again to sense, to decency and to spirit? It was natural enough that they should have but slender faith in the persistency of a spirit of resistance to open treason, when both government and people had seemed to cower before it, as long as it was only tacit and covert. It is one of the penalties of misconduct [illegible] character once lost cannot be easily re[illegible]. [illegible] been forfeiting the good opinion of [illegible] and of Christendom for too man[y] [illegible] be believed in, on the very first [illegible] repentance and reformation. We th[ink] we are re[gaining] our reputation quite as fast as we could expect, and much faster than we deserve.

There is something almost comical, were not the question and the issues involved so momentous, in the inconsistency with which we charge inconsistency upon the English people. President Lincoln, in his Inaugural, put the maintenance of slavery and the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in the very van of the array of his topics. Gen. Butler volunteers to put down an impossible insurrection of slaves, for the sake of making the loyalty of the government to slavery the more marked. Gen. Patterson proclaims his intention of doing the same thing "with an iron hand," and Gen. McClellan is equally emphatic of purpose in a region where a slave is a rare curiosity; and all public men and influential presses take all the pains they can to make it clear that this war has no anti-slavery purpose whatsoever, and contemplates only the putting of affairs on the old footing. And, then, after all this, the same men and the same presses turn round and gibe at England for forsaking her anti-slavery principles, in not openly joining with the North in its war against slavery! The changes are rung upon the old chimes of Exeter Hall, the Duchess of Sutherland, Lord Brougham and what not, to show the criminal blindness of the English for not seeing what we have all along been bellowing out was not to be seen! That they should be profoundly sensitive as to the question of cotton is as just as it is inevitable; but it needs no hypothesis of cotton bandages to account for their not seeing a sight to which we were burying our own heads in the sand that we might not see it ourselves. We have always believed, as we still believe, that the great heart of England keeps healthful music on the theme of American slavery.* That there should be an interest in and out of Parliament which measures principles by profits, and which would be willing to make any concessions to slavery that should make trade and cotton-spinning better, is nothing remarkable. It would be strange, indeed, if there were not such a political element. But we have no fe[ar] [illegible] controlling the public opinion of the three kin[gdoms] [illegible] and that public opinion is the authentic L[illegible] Constitution of England.

Intelligent Englishmen, who know enough of this country to be capable of forming an opinion, must see that this civil war is indeed waged against slavery. It is really, though not formally, a rebellion of the free States against the insolent and intolerable tyranny of the slave States. That they, with the men and money and credit which make up the sinews of war they have in their hands, will suffer the war to be ended, leaving its cause and occasion in full force of mischief, is a fatuity not to be expected. And if the men having the control of affairs should wish and attempt to reëstablish the old pro-slavery state of things, it is a thing impossible to be done. The *prestige* of slavery is gone forever, and if it be not utterly trampled into annihilation by the armed heel of battle, its vitality will be crushed out of it, and its death, in some shape, must follow speedily. The moment is critical, economically, for England, as it is, politically, for us. But we believe all true lovers of freedom, there as well as here, are sure that a new state of settled material prosperity as well as of settled civil liberty will grow out of this contest, for the one nation and for the other.

* Even the London *Times*, which is by no means friendly to the anti-slavery movement, knows the heart of the English people well enough to say: "*When, if ever, they* [the people of the United States] *proclaim the abolition of slavery throughout the Union, they will have all our sentiment on their side.*"

ARRIVAL OF A SLAVER.—The ship Nightingale, J. J. Guthrie commanding, arrived at this port on Saturday last from Monrovia, Africa. The Nightingale, with 950 negroes on board, was captured April 23, off Kabenda, west coast of Africa, by the United States sloop-of-war Saratoga. She was taken into Monrovia, where the slaves, 272 men, 97 women, 340 boys, and 92 girls, making a total of 801, were landed, 160 having died on the passage from Kabenda. A prize crew of 26 men were put on board the Nightingale from the Saratoga, who brought her to this port. The captain (Francis Bowen), the Spanish supercargo and the cabin servants made their escape from the vessel the night previous to her sailing from Kabenda. A portion of the crew having previously escaped in the boats, those that did not escape were transferred to the Saratoga, and shipped for the service. The three mates of the Nightingale, Messrs. Hinds, Winslow and Westervelt, were sent home in the ship, to be delivered up to the authorities. They will speedily be tried, and probably convicted of violating the laws against the slave trade. When the Nightingale sailed the following American (Northern) slave vessels were known to be in the Congo: The Arcleus, Alepina, Falmouth, Fairy and Martha Post—the latter vessel being under bonds not to engage in the slave trade.

THE SPIRIT OF THE NORTH.—Mrs. Martineau, it will be seen, is apprehensive, in view of "the vituperation which seems to be the prevalent tone of speech" in this country at the North as well as at the South—that the war is likely to be one of fierce revenge on both sides. We rejoice in being able to say that we think this apprehension, so far as the North is concerned, groundless; and if the special correspondent of *The Times* were to visit this part of the country, he could not fail to be struck with the contrast between Southern hatred of the North and Northern kindness and forbearance toward the South. That the frauds, robberies and cruelties which have marked the history of the secession movement have aroused a feeling of deep indignation among the Northern people is very true; but we see no reason to fear that that indignation will degenerate, either among soldiers or people, into a sentiment of revenge. We are more afraid that the North, through a mistaken forbearance, will fail to remove the cause of the war by giving freedom to the slaves.

THE TARIFF QUESTION. We have received from Mr. Greeley a reply to Mrs. Martineau's additional strictures in our last, on our new Tariff, which we are unable to print this week. It shall appear in our next.

LUCRETIA MOTT is engaged to speak in Music Hall, Boston, before the congregation of the late Theodore Parker, to-morrow (Sunday) morning.

THE DANGER OF COMPROMISE.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

CONCORD, N. H., June [illegible], 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

Is there any danger that delay in our military operations will lead to a compromise when Congress assembles next month? And are the recent indications from Kentucky any warning sign of it? And is the position of the British government such as to favor a compromise for the sake of cotton and commerce, which should not be meant to save that nation, and this, too, from the fate of Carthage and Capernaum?

Before this reaches your columns, all these questions may have been answered, or at least the necessity of them postponed by the cannon's red lips and fiery tongue.

So far in the strife, events have ruled the hour, and "the kingdom of God," indeed, has "not come with observation." The bombardment of Sumter made it possible for the President successfully to summon men into the field "*for three months.*" The mob in Baltimore augmented the popular fury, and a demand for indefinite hosts "*for three years*" service opened only a safety-valve for smothered Northern wrath. The legalized piracy of the new Southern government (if we dignify freebooters and banditti with so good a name) enabled General Butler to proclaim slave *men* who, per Underground Railroad, came to Fortress Monroe, "contraband of war," and to employ them in the Federal service. The strychnine argument and the slaughter of the brave young Ellsworth settled another knotty problem, in regard to the wives and children of those slave men; and they, too, were welcomed to this new city of refuge. And the "Underground Railroad" can now be discontinued between Virginia and Canada.

And thus, one step after another, has the government been led along; events being a "pillar of cloud and fire," by d[ay] and [night] [illegible] God led the ho[sts] [illegible] stronger portion of the nation and government [illegible] almost a century has been grinding a whole race under the iron heel of oppression. And there are small indications yet of anything like deep humiliation or repentance on its part. A violent uprising to conquer and crush out its accomplices in the fell crime, not merely for wishing to continue it (for in this both parties heartily agreed, the North even volunteering to add greatly to its already most damning participation), this surely is anything but sorrow for the sin. And who that believes in a God of justice and righteousness can hope for success to the North while thus trampling on every holy principle of his government?

But I was to speak of the *dangers of compromise*. Can we infer what may be by what is? or, rather, what the whole may be by a part? So far as our armies have gone, they have adjusted difficulties by assuring all "loyal citizens" of protection in their persons, occupations, and "every species of property." This we have seen in Maryland, North-western Virginia, and a portion of Missouri. Even traitors, taken with arms in hand or poison in pocket, as yet have had little to dread. And I have been wondering whether the other portions of Virginia and Missouri are to be disposed of in the same benignant manner. And if they, why not all the other States? And thus, in the end, we may have the delectable felicity of charitably pardoning whole hosts of Southern traitors, restoring to them their slaves, with wages faithfully paid their masters for what they have done in government service; and then, the whole enormous cost of the controversy being paid out of the pocket of our common "Uncle Samuel"!

And this brings me to the late Kentucky proposition, on behalf of the "Border States." The address of the Convention is signed by Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Guthrie, and other eminent men of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. The first proposition is, that Congress shall at once propose such constitutional amendments as will secure to slaveholders their legal rights, and allay their apprehensions in regard to possible encroachments in the future. The second relates to a "*National Convention,*" should Congress fail in the first. And then the North is devoutly exhorted on this wise: "To our fellow-citizens of the North we desire to say d[isc]... [illegible] and [illegible]on, which has cont[ributed] so much to [illegible] the [feel]ings of the Southern [illegible] apprehension on their part [illegible] advances are met. And as events have hitherto pointed the way to action, let us still cherish hope and faith.

True, the President's Inaugural promised all, and more than all, the propositions contain. Generals Butler and McClelland, proposing to suppress slave insurrections "*with an iron hand,*" in loyal districts, foreshadow what may be expected, should even the vilest Secessionists penitently return to their allegiance; while the present attitude and the last utterances of men high in British authority as well as esteem, most clearly denote how earnest that nation will be to get back again to prosperous peddling, at whatever sacrifice of principle and righteousness. Even such a man as John Bright, "the Quaker orator of the House of Commons," is "sure there will be every disposition, both in the Northern and Southern States, to remain on the most friendly terms with our country. He thought the House should observe that neutrality which the government had declared its intention to adopt. He hoped that discussion on the subject would be avoided." Other members spoke even more stupidly, not to say brutally, than Mr. Bright, scouting the idea that there could be any truth in "*the private letters*" or "*Northern newspapers*" of British subjects ever being maltreated in the South, and hoping the House "would not be led away by *these stories, having no foundation*"! The Earl of Derby, in right lordly tone, declared "the Northern States must not be allowed to entertain the opinion that *privateering is piracy.*" And even Lord Brougham insisted that there was a great difference between abolishing the slave traffic, and giving freedom to the slave; and "although our first sympathy is due to the slave, our next fellow-feeling is due to his master, who is possessed of slaves *by crimes not his own*, they having descended to him from other hands." "He strongly recommended all whom his voice might reach to abstain from holding all such [anti-slavery] meetings"! "At the present moment it cannot fail to do *great mischief* in our relations to America, if anything like agitation takes place on a question whereupon the *Americans of the South*, and almost all Americans, were peculiarly sensitive and jealous." "It would be the *worst possible calamity*, and might endanger the peace of the country without serving the slave." So much for Great Britain.

Perhaps other countries cannot be expected to regard our contest in any other than a shopkeeping aspect, until we ourselves elevate it to something higher than a mere *set-to*, on a large scale, between a constable and his *posse*. But when we shall sweep with it, as we ought, up into the high empyrean of absolute justice, and impartial, universal liberty; when we at the North have repented deeply and sincerely for our own part in the "five-headed barbarism"; when the twenty thousand Northern priests and their myriads of baptized communicants shall have purged themselves from *blood-guiltiness* in "the great transgression," and ceased to hate or proscribe their brother for his complexion or condition, then can we justly appeal to other nations for aid, should we need it, as well as sympathy and approval, in the momentous work now on our hands. Then would all the oppressed, and the omnipotent Avenger of the oppressed himself be with us, and no weapon formed against us could possibly prosper. And then, should Britain regard the question, as now she seems inclined, making no distinction between North and South more than Lords and Commons seem now disposed to make, then might she expect (as she would deserve) all the ten plagues of Egypt, with a Red Sea overthrow added thereto.

And now, what is the prospect or danger of a compromise? Or, rather, what shall hinder the conditions in Maryland and Western Virginia from being extended over all the seceded States? Nothing in the past offers any security, but rather the reverse. Let the Southern prodigals but repent and return, and will not the nation kill its best fatted calf to feast them, and load their hands with rings and jewels, and their necks with chains of gold?

Foreign nations wait to see and rejoice over such a reconciliation. Our government, to this hour hopes and longs for it. It was solemnly pledged, in the President's Inaugural, would the South but accede to it. What, then, can avert it? Events seem to rule the hour. Will a great battle and thousands slain prevent [it?] Must the first born in all our houses be sacrificed, as in Egypt, before we can be [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the [illegible] the vanishing [illegible] earth [illegible].

PARKER PILLSBURY.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES IN THE WEST.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

SINCE the commencement of the war in which the country is now engaged, there seems to have been a great cessation of the peculiar labors of those who cry "No Union with Slaveholders," and "Unconditional and Immediate Emancipation for the Slaves." The usual annual meetings have been postponed, conventions set aside, and the lecturing effort much relaxed. [illegible] there is a waiting to see "the salvation of God" as about to be developed by the war. The result will be shown by-and-by.

In the meanwhile, a correspondent of yours, Mr. C. B. Campbell, of [illegible], Iowa, and myself, have been on an old-fashioned anti-slavery tour in portions of Iowa and Illinois. We held meetings in Olive, Tipton, Rochester, Wilton and Wheatland, in Iowa; and in Fulton, Lyndon, Como, Unionville, Oregon, Nora and Warren, in Illinois.

Before commencing our tour we feared the war spirit would render it impossible to attract public attention to discussions and revelations upon the Slave Power and its oppressions; but we were agreeably surprised to find that our audiences, in every instance, were not only good in point of numbers, but attentive, thoughtful, and interested in regard to the subjects discussed. We were more than ever convinced that the people are in advance of their leaders, and that the anti-slavery sentiment of the country, if it could only [illegible] sufficient to overpower [illegible] timid and selfish leaders [illegible] popular impulse towards [illegible] must appeal from them [illegible] our political chameleons [illegible] flexible constituency.

The arrangements for the meetings of which I speak were made by Mr. Campbell, who is indefatigable in his labor and zeal for the cause of emancipation. The task of addressing the meetings was mainly done by me, but Mr. Campbell frequently favored them likewise with pertinent and apposite remarks, and in all instances imparted life, interest and spirit to them by the music of his melodeon, and his capitally executed and admirably selected reformatory, progressive and anti-slavery songs. The original verses which he has prepared to the tune of "Dixie" abound so much with pungent humor, and apt and seasonable hits at the times, the war, slavery, etc., that they never failed to be received with applause and enthusiasm by our audiences. I cannot but be gratified with our tour, and impressed with a conviction that it has been productive of good.

In my addresses I favored the war on the ground of its being impossible that it should be otherwise than crippling and damaging to slavery. I encouraged efforts to support the Administration in waging the present contest, because it would do much to unite the North in opposition to the baneful and terrible cause of all our difficulties and woes. I did not, however, attempt to conceal the fact that the Administration, the army leaders, and the prominent Republican and Democratic politicians, had no intention or wish to abolish slavery; but that we had reason to hope the continuance of the war, the course of events, and the obstinacy, cruelty, and ferocity of the slaveholders, would *compel* the government to avail itself of the war power, and at once abolish "the patriarchal institution" by a decree which humanity, justice, policy, and every worthy motive, call for immediately. I did not hesitate, in any of my addresses, to give utterance to radical anti-slavery, and the sentiments were always heard without dissent, generally with apparent approval, and not unfrequently with applause.

It seems to me that the work of the Anti-Slavery Society ought to be carried on unrelaxingly, and its lectures continued. In the West there is a field which should be cultivated. The laws respecting the colored man in Iowa, Illinois, and other Western States, notwithstanding the predominance of Republican majorities, [illegible] and proscriptive, and legislation of [illegible] needs to be inaugurated. It will no[t] [illegible] these reforms to this war. While I [illegible] and admiration the brilliant and [illegible] of Wendell Phillips—while I glow with the radiance imparted by that apostle of freedom, and feel that his persuasive lips are "touched with fire," I fear that *all* his anticipations from this war may not be realized. 'Tis true, they may, and my prayer is for the fulfilment of his prophecies; but still I *fear* a peace may be botched up without slavery being exterminated—that slavery may be left alive. I know, in that case, it will expire much sooner on account of this conflict, and that it will be shorn of its old supremacy, and will be bleeding from many an immedicable wound. Still it may be alive, and there is anti-slavery work to be done, anti-slavery battles to be fought, anti-slavery victories to be won.

The force of public opinion is shown by its sweeping down its powerful current such politicians as Everett, Cushing and Pierce, and such divines as South-side Adams, and his pulpit compeers. But the "Union" cry of these men is no more or less than an intended restoration and dominion of the cotton oligarchy, and a lowering of the Northern shoulders to resume again their burden of the Old Man of the Sea. Let the Union perish a thousand times rather than any *such* restoration! We cannot depend on Democratic Cushings, or fossil Everetts, or pulpit Adamses, or that class of Republicans who bow to the infamous behests of the Fugitive Slave law. We want, therefore, anti-slavery lectures and anti-slavery effort throughout the country, till a public detestation of our national villany is created that will not accept a peace which does not annihilate the foul and detestable crime.

STEPHEN J. W. TABOR.

Independence, Buchanan Co., Iowa, June 12, 1861.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SLAVES.

A NOTE FROM DAVID LEE CHILD, ESQ.

WAYLAND, Mass., June 11, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

YOU ascribed to me, in THE STANDARD of June 8th, an article of which I am not the author. It expresses, however, very well, *in the result*, my views. In one respect I differ from it very decidedly. It implies that the government is restrained by the Constitution from doing justice to the slaves and to us, by using them as weapons for subduing or wiping out the venomous traitors who pretend to own them, and come with supernatural, or subnatural, impudence to our camps and claim their restitution. It implies that we cannot reach the emancipation of slaves, or their incorporation into the army, except by breaking down the Constitution and laws. It intimates, also, that this ought to be done. To this I would have no objection, if it were necessary to the purpose. Justice and freedom before constitutions. But it is not necessary. No revolutionary act on the part of the United States is required to accomplish the object which the writer recommends. We are fighting in the *name* of the Constitution against *slavery*. We are bound, on that account as well as others more weighty, to adhere to the Constitution *within the existing United States*, and *in respect to the citizens thereof*; but beyond these, we are no more trammelled by Constitution and laws, in respect to revolted States and traitors, than we should be if carrying on warfare against any foreign enemy. Indeed, the crying injustice of the aggression, and the high treason and horrid murder which stalk and swagger and defy us in the van, justify and require the application of extreme rigors, allowed by the laws of war, but usually, against civilized enemies, forborne. In all the traitor States, and as to all the inhabitants, except where from grace and mercy we choose to make a discrimination, the laws of war supersede the Constitution and the municipal laws, both of the particular State and of the United States. The government have no authority to apply the Constitution and laws to the hostile territory and people. It would [be], or rather it has been, a great mistake, and a neglect [in]excusable on the ground of patriotic motives only [illegible] of the rights and interests of the loyal millions of men and women, whose heroism [illegible] spirit and noble self-sacrifice constitute all that [illegible] of our country [illegible] all that gives us hope at home [illegible] respect abroad. It was al[so] outrageous, unlawful and inhuman [illegible] to the r[e]fugee [illegible]. The government had no more right, [illegible] to send them back from Fort Pickens, Fortress Monroe, the steamer Quaker City, [e]tc., than they have to send back the fifties and hundreds of white refugees, arriving at New York, and on the left [illegible] of the Potomac. A high misdemeanor has been [illegible] in every case where it was done.

Yours faithfully, D. LEE CHILD.

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU.—LIII.

JUNE 3d, 1861.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: We watch for west winds for other reasons than anxiety about our crops, in this dry season. People who never used to care about American affairs now watch the church vane, and calculate the arrival of ships with news of your war. You will have seen by our newspapers how strong the national sympathy is, and how few are the apologists of the South, after all the talk there has been of the perverting influence of a need of cotton. I see no trace, in public or private speech, of any difference whatever existing between those who have an interest in cotton and those who have not. What differences there are seem to be owing to gradations in knowledge—the best informed being the heartiest friends of the Northern cause.

There are two points on which your best friends are particularly anxious; and it seems to me to be wiser to mention them—however they may appear on your side the water—than to enter on topics which may be dismissed into the past before this letter reaches you.

We are anxious to be clear—and, yet more, to know that you are clear—as to the aim of the North in the present struggle. Of course, we are aware that the North is resisting aggression, defending liberties, upholding the Republic, in short; and that the abolition of slavery is pretty sure to be the consequence. In this indefinite way, we know what is before you; but, practically, there must be a direct and definite aim in regard to the Secessionists; and we earnestly desire to know what it is. Since your government at Washington follows, instead of leading, the national will, it is for the people at large to determine its purpose; and the most important consideration now seems to be that the aim of the uprisen nation should be clear, definite and express, that the Republic may be saved, and the war prevented from either falling short of its effect, or passing over into license of any kind or degree. The language used on each and every side fills us with dread and horror—and I fear I must add, disgust. We are not aware that anything like the vituperation which seems to be the prevalent tone of speech was ever before seen. If the temper of the soldiers, or of political men, should at all resemble that of public writers and speakers, we must expect to witness such effects of human hatred as are not dreamed of in the fiercest campaigns of modern warfare. You may have seen how the Southern gentry have astonished the distinguished correspondent of *The Times*, by their hatred to the North. If this gentleman is in the way of Northern writers and speakers, I fear he will have to go through the surprise again. It will be one result of having a definite aim that the practice of rancorous abuse—the language of indefinite passion—will be chastened into that of calm and clear and moderate reprobation of wrong and assertion of right. A definite proposal has great virtue in concentrating the moral sense and personal patriotism of a nation.

The other point is of a different nature altogether. We have had reason to know, by sad experience, what it may have lain altogether out of your way to observe—the necessity of a sanitary organization in connection with every body of troops, moving or in camp. Before the Crimean war, we had no clear conception of what was wanted, and how it should be done; and it required the sacrifice of a fine army, and an incalculable waste of every kind of resource, to teach us our lesson. All our best troops—our whole trained army, as it stood before the war—died of malaria, hunger, cold, damp, or other avoidable mischief. By means of enormous effort, involving enormous waste, the evil was remedied; and at the close of the war the percentage of death and disease in the camps was below that of the most healthy rural districts of England. We should be thankful that you should start from the point attained so calamitously by us. The first great consideration is, that there should be a sanitary agency always in camp or on the march, which should have authority to provide for the health of the soldiery; officers of high position who should report to the commander of conditions which the Quarter-master has never been instructed in; who should advise against encamping in unwholesome places, and have authority to enforce the necessary drainage, cleanliness and water supply in the camp, and to require of the Commissariat whatever is needful in the way of bedding, clothing and food for the troops; and, in aid of these functionaries, such an intermediate department between the Commissariat and the soldiers as shall be charged with the duty of "getting the food into the men's mouths, and the clothes upon their backs." If you heard of the green coffee in the Crimea, and of the deckloads of vegetables which rotted in the harbor while the men were dying for want of them six miles off; or of the cargoes of flour which lay just at hand unused while our scurvy-stricken soldiers were starving—unable to eat the hard biscuit served out to them; or of the medicines and clothes which were somewhere in store, but not forthcoming till the occasion was over, you will see that a good Commissariat is not enough without some special agency for putting the men in possession of the good things provided for them. Whether you have trained sanitary professors I don't know. Physicians do not answer the purpose, unless they have gone through a second education for the object. Their concern is with the body in a state of disease or injury; and this study places them even further than others from a knowledge of the conditions of health. An intelligent set of men like your Northern troops can do a great deal for themselves, in the arrangement of their quarters, in cooking and washing, and otherwise providing for their needs; but more is wanted than can be effected by any good sense and cleverness in individuals. General rules about the drainage and the cleanliness of the camp, the slaughtering and preparation of the food, the distribution of the meals, the provision of bedding, of fuel, and of medicine when wanted—these are essential to the preservation of the lives of your citizen-soldiers; and no devotedness of physicians and nurses, no ability and zeal in the department of sickness, can save more than a very small proportion of lives, or obviate more than a fraction of the suffering that may be precluded by a good sanitary organization. In our War Office changes have been made by which a Sanitary Department has been created, with officers as authoritative, and functions as definite as those of any other department. I trust something of the sort has now been improvised on behalf of your new levies of troops. It would grieve the world's heart if thousands of them, or hundreds, or tens, should be swept away by fever or cholera, or die of hunger, or damp, or cold, for want of the new knowledge which other nations have gained in so costly and dreary a way as the French did in Algeria, and we and they in the Crimea. In our late Chinese expedition there was no want, no avoidable hardship, and less disease than in ordinary society at home.

You will have read of the arrival and of the welcome of the new American ambassadors in Europe. As for one of them, Mr. C. M. Clay, it is understood that he longs to return, to fight at the head of his regiment. I believe he makes no secret of this; and it really seems that diplomacy is not his proper vocation, while he would probably make a noble soldier on a better theatre than the Mexican war. His haste and impetuosity, amusing in themselves, may be really calamitous in a diplomatic office; and he has already done as much mischief to your cause here as an honest man on the right side can easily do. His letter to *The Times* (which he would have written differently if he had waited for some knowledge of that unprincipled paper and its function) ended with an undignified appeal for English support; and his speech at Paris (if correctly reported) was full of unseemly menace, on the absurd supposition of England taking part with the Secessionists. You do not want foreign help to maintain your rights and liberties; and you must be well assured that we shall not desert our ground of neutrality to give aid and countenance to an aggressive community of slaveholders and would-be slaveholders. Mr. Clay's demands and menaces are alike needless; and he should know us well enough to be aware that no good object can be gained by bluster grounded on a blunder. He seems to have misunderstood the recognition of belligerent parties in order to the defence of our commerce and our seamen, as being in some sort a recognition of both as political powers. By this time he has probably learned his mistake, and seen the impropriety of trying to play upon English and French supposed international jealousy; but he will be out of place at St. Petersburg unless he is more accurate in his facts and more reasonable in temper than he has been in London and Paris. Mr. Adams has been kindly welcomed among us; and we trust there will be only peace and cordiality between our two nations while he lives among your English friends.

The news from Russia, about the serfs, is very bad. Again I must point out that no ill-success there can rationally discourage Abolitionists anywhere else. You do not need to be told how attempts at gradual emancipation work. It is the old story over again. The serfs are unmanageable while talked to about freedom, and suffering under unchanged conditions of bondage. They were told they were to be free; and they find themselves not so, but obliged to work without pay, precisely as before. When told that they are to be free in two years, they say the Czar means them to be so now; and they have risen against their masters in no less than 22 provinces of the empire. Two hundred of the poor fellows were killed in the first outbreak, and no one sees the end of it. The corruption and hostility of the great body of the officials renders the case as grave as possible. Whatever happens, it will remain true that the serfs of Russia might have been freed with entire safety and advantage to all parties.

My last letter was hardly gone when the catastrophe of the people I wrote about—the Spitalfields weavers—took place. The Bishop of London and Miss Coutts, and other benevolent persons, have formed a plan for removing the body—or the hopeful part of it—to the prosperous seats of the silk manufacture; and they are now willing to go. They must leave their singular quarter—the ancient weaving shops, with their long lattices, and their dovecotes and auricula and tulip beds on the roofs. They drove away their trade by their persistency in a protectionist doctrine and course of conduct; and now they have to follow it, by the aid of charity. The story of Coventry is very like it; and both should be very instructive to other countries. The French corn laws are repealed, you see, and the stoutest adherents of Protection to manufactures in France are amazed at the fears and wishes they entertained only a year ago. You see Mr. Motley expects (as every enlightened American in England seems to do) that the new Tariff will be immediately repealed.

Our prospects of a supply of cotton rapidly improve. The South has built up her schemes on a Helot system which the world will not endure, and on a staple which the world can dispense with. What but ruin can be the result?

H. M.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, June 17, 1861.

THE next move on the political chess-board will be in the direction of peace and a compromise—see if it isn't! Not that the movement will be successful, for it will not, but *it will be attempted.* We have journals ready for it—*The Herald*, *The Journal of Commerce*, and a hundred others—and which will, at the right moment, make a vigorous attempt to create a public sentiment favoring their scheme.

There will be several men in Congress of the right stamp to engineer it. Mr. Crittenden will probably represent a Union district in Kentucky. Henry May represents another from Baltimore. In fact, all the members from Kentucky and Maryland, and most of those from Missouri, will be ready to come forward with propositions to the North, or Northern men in Congress. The first will be for an armistice of sixty days between the belligerents, to gain time for the compromising work, and the final proposition, *reunion, with further guarantees for slavery.*

The friends of freedom may look out for some such movement erelong, but need not have the least fear that it will work. The South will not, at this stage of the proceedings, consent to a reunion. It is entirely out of the question. The people of the Gulf States have other reasons than those connected with slavery for disliking political association with the free States. They will never consent, until forced at the cannon's mouth, to "submit to the rule of Lincoln," as they call it. The majority of the slave States, then, will never consent to any compromise by the terms of which they are to again rejoin the old Union. They may be whipped into it, but not coaxed.

How about the North? Although we have men and journals ready to advocate a compromise, yet the vast majority wish this whole question to be finally settled now. Any patchwork compromise with the South on this great controversy will be quickly destroyed by any election excitement, and the country would again be thrown into the convulsions of civil war. There is but one way—such is unquestionably the opinion of three-fourths of the people in the free States—there is but one way to finish up this contest. There must be a trial upon the battle-field of the strength of the two sections, and if the loyal people of this country cannot put down the disloyal, then there must be eternal separation between them.

I judge, then, that all the new attempts at compromise will fail, because of the facts and conditions stated. The Administration will be firmly against any such scheme, unless it be two or three members of it; and I believe that every member of it, *at present*, is opposed to any issue of the war but one—the submission of the rebels. Whether such men as Bates, Smith, and Seward would stand up straight if Crittenden had the authority of Jeff. Davis to propose another compromise, is more than I or anybody else can tell, but the contingency is not likely to occur.

Members of Congress begin to gather here for the approaching extra session, and, so far as I can hear, there is a unanimous opinion in favor of a very short session, and the consideration of no business except that which pertains to the war. The hands of the President will be strengthened, means will be furnished the Treasury Department, and everything done calculated to give power to the government in its attempt to crush out the slaveholding rebellion.

It is surprising to notice the change of sentiment among our Northern politicians. Those who have been here of late are very good Garrisonian Abolitionists, bating the non-resistant idea. "Slavery is the cause of all our troubles," remarked a Democrat of the old line, a day or two since, "and let us *wipe it out while we have the opportunity!*" These Democratic politicians actually seem dissatisfied with the cautious conservatism of the Republican Administration respecting slaves; and urge the overthrow of the vile institution, not because it is wicked and offensive in the sight of God and men, but because it is the enemy of the Union, has caused all our troubles, and, in the hands of the rebels, is a source of great weakness. One or two prominent New York City Democrats that I know of, openly advocate the overthrow of slavery as fast as our army proceeds South. The sentiment among all in this vicinity seems to be that slavery has received its death-blow, come what will.

Gen. Scott—to change the subject—seems to have been outmanœuvred by the Harper's Ferryans, and our troops at Big Bethel were defeated. In the Harper's Ferry affair, Scott lays the blame of his failure to cut off the rebels at that point wholly to the New York newspapers. The rebels ran from the Ferry because they heard through the daily journals of New York that an important column of troops was marching across to Leesburg. Every possible attempt was made to conceal the movement from the reporters, but all was in vain. *The Herald* and *The Tribune* went so far as to lay out *the plan* of the capture of Harper's Ferry, and the rebels got hold of it in sufficient season to make good their retreat. The important question now is where have they gone? If to Winchester and Manassas Junction, then a great battle will before long take place at the last-named place. If upon Leesburg, it would seem as if Beauregard had an idea of an advance movement himself upon Washington. However it may be, it looks at present as if Congress would sit very near to the theatre of hostilities: the members may go over and see some fighting in the morning, if they like, and return in the afternoon for legislative business. With the concentration of the rebels at Manassas Junction comes eventually a battle at that point: so it seems to me, at least, and our troops will have an opportunity of trying their valor and skill at carrying intrenchments and masked batteries.

The citizens of Washington have not lost all their fears of an attack upon the city. There is at present considerable apprehension that Gen. Beauregard will make the attempt to cross the Potomac twenty miles above and attack the city in the rear. Military authorities, however, do not fear any such thing, though the

preparations made to prevent any such movement by Gen. Scott prove that he considers [illegible] ... bilities. In a very short time, however, it will be impossible for the rebels [illegible] thought of any [illegible] there but for [illegible]. The question for them then is [illegible]. Shall we retreat upon [illegible]? This is the plan of their scouts, to surround them by a superior force whenever they attempt to make a stand. —Cor.

HOPE AND FEARS.

Extract from a Private Letter.

What do you think of the times? I am often despondent, still more often I am impatient to a point of fiery indignation, and I am seldom very hopeful. I told one [illegible] friend I would that I thought he began to [illegible] we could see our way out of the wood. It is evident that the secession at heart no good to the [illegible]. The [illegible] were overwhelm [illegible] slave [illegible] would not. My only [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] conduct of Jeff. Davis and his coadjutors, [illegible] the United States make, sending back [illegible] slaves for their masters to cut up, by [illegible] God give prosperity to a [illegible] such [illegible] cuts [illegible] heart like the thrust of a knife. I used to [illegible] the flag of my country; but in view of these [illegible] wrongs, over which it floats in such vain-glorious [illegible], my love of country finds vent only in tears. Even those slaves now allowed to remain in Fort Monroe are to be protected by the United States only *so long* as their masters are in rebellion against the government. God grant they may *all* rebel, and *remain* in rebellion, and practise upon *us* the barbarism of slavery, till we are goaded to do, from policy and revenge, what we ought to do from justice and humanity! Alas, that it could not have been done in a wiser and better way!

We of the North have been so persistently selfish, we have been so deaf to all warnings and admonitions of the Lord, that it must needs be we should suffer for it. And are we not punished for our misdeeds in having such a man as Wm. H. Seward the advising power of the government? How long will men continue to dignify with the name of statesmanship the mere temporary expedients of selfish policy? If I were to make a dictionary, I would define statesman, as generally understood, to be a man who expends his ingenuity in petty stratagems to circumvent God. Ah, it is more than we deserve, to have among our politicians one man so nobly true to freedom as Charles Sumner. How the names of our temporizers will pale before his, in the impartial light of history! How I abhor all the turning and twisting tribe! How I hate all the snakes of the age!

Yours, truly, L. MARIA CHILD.

TRACTS FOR OUR ARMY AND NAVY.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I HAVE just published a series of Tracts, for the brave men who are fighting our battles, on the use of tobacco, strong drink and profane language—vices which grow luxuriantly in armies and navies. They are short, sententious in style, and alive with martial sentiments and patriotic pictures. They will be read. They will prepare the way for productions of a more religious kind, which fall dead on soldiers stupefied by strong drink and tobacco smoke.

If gentlemen who make handsome donations to furnish camps with "religious reading" will send me only "the crumbs which fall from their tables," I will supply our camps with tracts which will render such reading more effective, by cutting up loathsome vices which stand in the way of Christ and salvation.

GEORGE TRASK.

Fitchburg, Mass., June 13th, 1861.

AARON M. POWELL, in a private letter, just received, says: "In the madness which prevails at the South and the maturing conviction at the North as to the unprofitableness and sinfulness of the slave system, with a continuation of the conflict, the early overthrow of the accursed organized iniquity would seem to be well nigh certain. What a noble and timely speech that of Dr. Cheever at Newcastle-upon-Tyne? Its influence must be excellent upon both sides of the Atlantic. I am heartily glad that the usual anniversary celebration at Framingham is to be held on the 4th of July, and I would that monster conventions of the people, irrespective of the few Abolitionists, might now be held throughout the North, to give forcible expression of the public sentiment and feeling in reference to the slavery question and the war. If fully and fairly given, it would undoubtedly be largely in favor of emancipation, from mingled motives of benevolence, justice, selfishness and revenge, and it would indicate to the Administration its proper policy and work.

"May there never be a truce until murderous slaveholding, and the vile, despicable slave-catching now prevalent shall forever cease, and liberty be enjoyed throughout the land by all the inhabitants thereof."

PROGRESS OF SOUND VIEWS.—The war has had a wonderful effect upon many of the leading presses of the country by shedding a clearer light upon the nature and the effects of slavery, and emboldening the editors to speak truths which they once scoffed at or ignored. See, for example, the article in another column, from *The World*, on the "Degeneracy of the South"; also an article which we printed a fortnight ago from *The Times*, on the same subject. For speaking the truth contained in these articles, in terms no whit more severe, Abolitionists have for twenty-five years been denounced as uncharitable and fanatical; while on the other hand the Southern people have been eulogized as models of every human excellence. The Northern people are at length opening their eyes to the fact, that men who extort their labor by the lash and buy and sell human flesh do thereby subject themselves to a process of demoralization alike powerful and rapid.

SANITARY CARE OF THE ARMY.—Mrs. Martineau, in the letter we publish this week, speaks anxiously and earnestly in regard to the measures which policy and humanity alike require to be adopted for the protection of the health of our volunteer soldiers. She will be glad to learn, and so will our readers, that the subject has attracted the attention of eminent citizens, and that, with the hearty consent and coöperation of the War Department and the Medical Bureau, a "Commission of Inquiry and Advice" has been constituted, consisting of the following gentlemen, who, it is understood, have already entered efficiently and with encouraging success upon the discharge of their important functions: Henry W. Bellows, D.D., Prof. A. D. Bache, Dr. W. A. Van Buren, Dr. Robert C. Wood, U.S.A., Dr. Cornelius R. Agnew, Major A. E. Shiras, Dr. Wolcott Gibbs, Dr. Elisha Harris, Dr. S. G. Howe, George T. Strong.

MISS HARRIET J. HOWELLS, a young woman as beautiful in person as she was noble in character died on Saturday last, at the residence of Marcus and Rebecca Spring, at Eagleswood, N. J., of an illness induced by over-exertion in fitting herself for duty as an army nurse. She was a native of England, and a daughter of the late Rev. H. C. Howells, formerly of Pittsburg, Pa., whose devotion to the anti-slavery cause, twenty-five years ago and since, endeared him to many of its friends. Her death has sent a pang to the heart of every one who knew her. She has laid down her life in devotion to a cause in which she enlisted, not alone from patriotic impulse, but from a sense of religious duty.

THE REV. J. R. W. SLOANE preached a very able and eloquent discourse on THE TIMES last Sunday evening in the Church of the Puritans. He showed it to be the duty of the nation to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, as the only means of removing the cause of our present troubles and averting the divine judgments. The duty of ministers and Churches to take the lead in this measure of justice and beneficence was very clearly set forth. The audience was large and very attentive.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE closes its thirteenth volume, new series (vol. lxix. from the beginning), with the issue of the present week. The present is therefore a favorable time for new subscriptions. The comments of the English press upon American affairs occupy a prominent place in this work, which contains also the choicest selections from foreign literary periodicals. Boston: Littell, Son & Co.

[illegible] R. ROBINSON, of Salem, Columbiana Co., Ohio, is a local agent of THE STANDARD, to receive payments from old or new subscribers.

Chronicles of the War.

THE NORTH-SIDE VIEW.

THE principal event of the week is the evacuation of Harper's Ferry by the rebels, for an account of which see "South-side View." This removed the only obstacle to the advance of Gen. Patterson's column, which [illegible] crossed the Potomac at Williamsport. Gen. Scott's grand column stretches now from Alexandria on the East to Martinsburg on the West. In a few days, probably, Gen. McClelland's force will advance from the West and be thrown out Southward along the Blue Ridge, in readiness to meet the Secession forces by a flank movement whenever Gen Scott advances from the centre upon Manassas Junction. This will probably compel the rebels to fall back upon Richmond to avoid the same danger that menaced them at Harper's Ferry. The intrenchments in front of Washington are now supposed to be nearly complete, and the true forward movement into the enemy's territory is probably nigh at hand.

The Wheeling Convention is engaged in organizing a Provisional Government, to supersede the traitorous State officers at Richmond, and as fast as General Scott moves, it will assume civil jurisdiction in his rear, and thus gradually restore the State to its allegiance. It will not be surprising if, within three weeks, the traitor Letcher shall be expelled from Richmond and the Governor to be appointed at Wheeling installed in his place. In that case, the Confederate Congress, which adjourned to meet in Richmond on the 20th of July, must seek another place whereat to pursue its work of treason. Perhaps the rebels may prove strong enough to obstruct the advance for a time; that they will have to give way at last we entertain no doubt.

THE STRUGGLE IN MISSOURI.

The Governor of Missouri, in secret alliance with the rebels, has been playing a shrewd game in order to carry the State out of the Union. Secretly engaged in organizing and arming a traitorous force, he sought, by professions of peace and neutrality, to induce a withdrawal from the State of the United States forces. The firmness of Frank Blair and others prevented the consummation of this scheme, whereupon the Governor threw off the mask and issued his proclamation calling for 50,000 State troops to expel the United States soldiery. Gen. Lyon, United States commander in that quarter, has probably saved the State by the promptness of his movements. Gov. Jackson and his subordinates, compelled to flee from Jefferson City, the Capital, went up the Missouri river to Booneville, where they hoped to make a stand and to control the western frontier. Gen. Lyon pursued them with as little delay as possible, and succeeded, after a sharp battle, in driving them out of Booneville and taking possession of the place. The following dispatch gives a brief account of the engagement:

"ST. LOUIS, Tuesday, June 18, 1861.

"*The Democrat* has just received the following dispatch from Jefferson City. Mr. Gordon, of St. Louis, and other gentlemen from above, give the following account of the battle of Booneville. Gen. Lyon landed four miles below Booneville, and opened a heavy cannonade against the rebels, who retreated and dispersed into the adjacent wood, whence, hidden by bushes and trees, they opened a brisk fire on our troops. Gen. Lyon then ordered a hasty retreat to the boats, and the rebels, encouraged by this movement, rallied, and followed the troops into a wheat field. Gen. Lyon halted, faced his troops about, and, bringing the whole force of his artillery to bear, opened a murderous fire on the rebels, 300 of whom were killed, and the balance fled in all directions, leaving their arms on the field. Gen. Lyon then moved forward and took Booneville. Gen. Price, commander of the rebel force, was taken with violent diarrhœa at the beginning of the battle, and was taken on a steamer and carried to his home in Charlton. Governor Jackson viewed the battle from a distant hill, and fled to parts unknown after the defeat of his forces."

It is probable that the State Convention, elected some time since to decide the question of secession, and which voted the proposition down by a large majority, will be called together again for the purpose of organizing a Provisional State government to supersede the rebel rule of Jackson.

SKIRMISH AT VIENNA.

Another unfortunate encounter with the rebel forces, in which a small body of our troops were literally run into the very jaws of destruction, occurred on Monday. The First Ohio Regiment, commanded by Col. McCook, were on Monday afternoon sent out from Alexandria by rail to Vienna, with orders to drop companies at various points along the route, to hold the road safe from damage by the rebel forces. All but four companies had thus been dropped, when, on approaching Vienna, a masked battery stationed at a curve in the road, which at that point passed through a deep cut, opened upon the train, with round shot, shell and grape, causing the death of a number of our troops, and wounding many others, before the train could be stopped. Some of the running gear of the train was damaged by the fire, so that the engine, which was in the rear, could not draw it back out of range, and the men were consequently forced to leave the cars and retire on foot, which they did in good order, taking their killed and wounded. Finding that the rebel battery was supported by a regiment of infantry and a body of cavalry, Gen. Schenck, who commanded the expedition, thought it prudent to retire, which he did, without further molestation from the enemy, who are understood to have been South Carolinians. The engineer in charge of the train detached his engine and returned to Alexandria, leaving the troops to their fate.

FORTRESS MONROE.

A forward movement from Fortress Monroe will undoubtedly soon take place. There is sufficient evidence that such a movement is contemplated; but the direction which it will take is, of course, left to conjecture. An expedition of three hundred of Duryee's Zouaves, under Lieut.-Col. Warren, left Hampton on Monday morning to make a reconnoissance in the vicinity of Great Bethel and elsewhere on the road to Yorktown, taking artillery and rations for two days. It is understood that the rebels are concentrating in large force at Yorktown. The trial with Sawyer's American rifled cannon the other day, at the Rip Raps, was so successful that Gen. Butler has ordered several others to be rifled for a similar projectile. The rebels at Sewell's Point were said to be engaged in constructing additional batteries there, and it was the intention to bring the gun to bear upon them.

The official returns of the killed and wounded at the battle of Big Bethel show a total of seventy-four—of which sixteen were killed, fourteen dangerously wounded, five missing, and thirty-nine only slightly injured. Twenty-one of these casualties occurred in the mistaken engagement between the Third and Seventh New York Volunteer Regiments.

On Monday, Lieut. George H. Butler, with others, proceeded to Big Bethel to bring away the remains of Major Winthrop. At Little Bethel a picket took their message to Col. Magruder, who sent Capt. Kilsen, of Louisiana, to receive them. Two hours after Col. Magruder came, and they were handsomely received. None of Lieut. Butler's party were permitted to go near the batteries. The body of Major Winthrop was taken up by Col. Magruder's men, and escorted to the wagon by a force of 300, who fired a volley. Most of them had shot guns. An escort was offered to Hampton, but Lieut. Butler declined it.

Col. Magruder and others spoke in the highest terms of Major Winthrop's bravery. He was distinctly seen for some time leading a body of men to the charge, and had mounted a log, and was waving his sword, and shouting to his men to "Come on!" when a North Carolina drummer boy borrowed a gun, leaped on the battery, and shot him deliberately in the breast.

THE QUAKERS IN MARYLAND AND VIRGINIA.

Should our army march up on the Rockville Turnpike from Washington toward Harper's Ferry, every step would be among traitors. But should they go up the Brookville pike, almost parallel with it, and leading out past Mr. Blair's residence, every step would be through a comparatively friendly land. This difference in the sections of Montgomery County is to be chiefly attributed to the living branch of Quakerism which fortune has cast into that County. Perhaps the finest Quaker (Hicksite) settlement in Maryland is to be found at Sandy Spring, about 25 miles out north-west from Washington City. Wealthy and successful farmers, supporting free schools, a lyceum for lectures, and a valuable circulating library, employing no slave labor, nor even hiring slaves, because the wages must go to the owners of men, these peaceful settlers have distanced those of all other parts of the County, and their influence has extended to other communities. In the early days of Maryland their fathers settled there and accepted the eternal testimony against slavery; to it they have unanimously adhered. This is the ancestral centre of the Stablers, Hallowells, Brookses, Farquhars, and other noble families. When the present troubles began, the Southern Wrongs party held a meeting at Rockville, and very much to their dismay, the entire tribe of Quakers, "never before known to attend a political (!) meeting," presented themselves. They were met with a ferocious growl: but it was of no use: secession was paralyzed. Immediately after the Baltimore street conflict the spirit of secession swept like a tornado through that State: but the Quakers did not bow nor bend to it. They were threatened with a mob. They met, and decided that, alive or dead, *there* they would remain. And they do remain there, sheltering nightly scores of refugees from the South, and, though they may not take the sword, ready to defend, in every way consistent with their testimony, Liberty.

Not very different from this is the case with Loudoun County, Va., just across on the Southern shore of the Potomac. It has several flourishing Quaker (Hicksite) societies, which have done much toward making it a region of free labor. This is the region of the Janneys, all friends of freedom. Samuel M. Janney here met and annihilated the Rev. Dr. Smith, President of Randolph Macon College, when he made a tour of the State, demonstrating the divinity of slavery, who [illegible] when it was found he could not [illegible] he met by argument [illegible] here, with [illegible] forcible arguments of slavery. It was in an adjoining neighborhood that [illegible] Endicott [illegible] was sold [illegible]. —*Baltimore American*.

[illegible]

Poolesville, June 18.—[illegible] received from Dranesville [illegible] last night say that the [illegible] not at Leesburg, as has heretofore been reported. Yesterday afternoon the enemy attempted to make a crossing at Goose Creek, having arrived opposite Edward's Ferry in force, estimated by officers in command of the guard there at from eight to nine hundred men. They made use of a ferry-boat, which they had withdrawn from the Potomac river. Col. Stone had given orders, as he himself communicates, that if any attempt was made to move the boat a fire should be opened on it. In compliance with these orders, Lieut. Hitchcock fired from his 12-pounder field howitzer a spherical case shot, which went directly in range, and covered the boat with a shower of bullets and fragments. The effect was excellent. The horse of a mounted officer leaped overboard and the boat was rapidly drawn back to shore. The enemy then formed in line along the crest of the hill and commenced firing, but a few well-directed spherical case shots dispersed them and sent them flying towards Leesburg.

KENTUCKY UNIONISTS [illegible].

Louisville, June 18.—A regiment has been ordered from here to Columbus, Kentucky, to protect the Union men there from the depredations of the Secessionists. The Unionists had applied to Gen. Prentiss at Cairo for protection.

The *Bulletin* quotes from the Memphis *Avalanche* as follows: "We proclaim a war of invasion against the North-west to the knife. Kentucky will extend to us the passage through her territory for our armies. We will not say anything at present about the secret information we possess of formidable combinations of good and true men in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois to overthrow the Lincoln dynasty, who are only awaiting our arrival to rise up and crush their oppressors."

The Frankfort *Yeoman* says Governor Harris, of Tennessee has pledged his faith in writing to Governor Magoffin, of Kentucky, that no troops shall cross Kentucky for any purpose, unless by invitation or permission of the Kentucky authorities.

The Evening Telegraph advises the St. Louis people to rise and slay those of the Home Guards who recently fired upon the people of that city.

It also says the secession majority in Tennessee is 57,849, including the East Tennessee majority against secession of 13,177.

CAPTURE OF A PRIVATEER.

One of Jeff. Davis's privateers, the Savannah, of Charleston—to which the first letter of marque was issued—after a running fight, was captured, on the 3d inst., by the United States brig Perry, about fifty miles from Charleston harbor. The Savannah, a schooner-rigged vessel of fifty-four tons burden, was formerly engaged as a pilot boat. At the time of her capture she was armed with an 18-pounder amidships, and had on board an ample supply of shot and shell, grape and cannister, while her crew were provided with knives, cutlasses, pistols, rifles, etc. She was also well provisioned for a protracted cruise, although at the time of her capture she had been out of port only thirty-six hours, during which period, however, she had taken as a prize the brig Joseph, of Rockland, Maine, and sent her to Georgetown, S. C. It appears that the piratical craft left Charleston harbor on Sunday, June 2, under the command of Captain Baker, with a crew of about twenty-five men. On the following day she fell in with the brig Joseph, from Cardenas, Cuba, with a cargo of sugar, consigned to Welch & Co., of Philadelphia. By an artful arrangement of the colors on board the Savannah, the captain of the brig was induced to believe that the piratical crew was in distress, and went on board, when he was held as a prisoner, and his vessel seized as a prize, and as such a prize crew of eight men was put on board to take her into Georgetown harbor. Before the Savannah and her prize had fairly parted company the brig Perry hove in sight, and by disguising her real character, her guns being purposely run back and her port holes closed, she was doubtless mistaken for another prospective prize by the pirates, who immediately made all sail they could, and came within a short distance of the Perry before they discovered that they were sold, when they put about and tried hard to make good their escape. The Perry gave chase, and fired several shots to bring the pirate to. The latter fired four shots in return, which passed over the Perry without doing any damage. After a chase of about six hours, the Perry hauled up close to the piratical schooner, and ordered her to heave to, which she did, when men from the Perry, under command of Lieut. J. N. Miller, boarded her. The officers and crew of the Savannah then came forward and gave up their side arms, and surrendered themselves as prisoners. They were taken on board the Perry and and put in irons, and the Savannah was placed in charge of a prize crew, with Midshipman McCook in command who brought her to this port, which they reached on Saturday; while the brig Perry transferred her prisoners to the United States frigate Minnesota, lying off Charleston bar. On board the privateer was found a young man hailing from New York, who represented that he was impressed into the service of the pirates while in an unconscious state. He was brought to this port in the schooner. He stated that there were originally thirty-two men on board, but eight effected their escape before the vessel sailed on her privateering cruise.

The crew are to be brought to New York for trial as pirates. The evidence of their guilt is so strong that there will be no difficulty in convicting them. The President will decide their fate. He may consign them to the gallows, or, on grounds of policy, commute their punishment.

As a curiosity we print the letter of marque under which the Savannah sailed:

"Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, to all who shall see these presents, greeting: Know ye that by virtue of the power vested in me by law, I have commissioned, and do hereby commission, have authorized, and do authorize, the schooner or vessel called the Savannah, (more particularly described in the schedule herewith annexed), whereof T. Harrison Baker is commander, to act as a private armed vessel in the service of the Confederate States, on the high seas, against the United States of America, their ships, vessels, goods and effects, and those of their citizens, during the pendency of the war now existing between the said Confederate States and the said United States; this commission to continue in force until revoked by the President of the Confederate States for the time being.

"Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States, at Montgomery, this 18th day of May, A.D. 1861. By the President, Jefferson Davis. R. Toombs, Secretary of State."

BALLOONING.

Washington, June 18.—Prof. Lowe made his first experimental ascension to-day from the Armory grounds. Messrs. Burns, of the Telegraph Company, and Robinson, the operator, accompanied him. The latter had charge of the aerial end of an exceedingly small helix wire, insulated with green silk, and connected with the regular lines. An operator below repeated the message from the air after it had been transmitted through a mile of this helix wire, wound round by a strong cable, ascended. The White House, the War Department, Alexandria, and the Philadelphia office were communicated with, and if the other offices had been silent, intercourse might have been indefinitely continued.

The highest ascension was 450 feet. Several more experiments will be requisite to establish the extent to which the balloon can be used on the battlefield, to give orders, and in reconnoisances to record observations in camp while working at a distance. After the experiment was concluded, the balloon was towed up by ropes to the grounds of the President, who reviewed it from the window. The car was adorned with two American and one British flag. The tri-color was accidentally absent. The balloon spends the night anchored in rear of the White House. —*Cor. Tribune.*

THE SOUTH-SIDE VIEW.

EVACUATION OF HARPER'S FERRY.

On Thursday morning, the 13th inst., the rebel forces under Gen. Johnston at Harper's Ferry evacuated the place, after burning the railroad bridge across the Potomac and most of the buildings belonging to the United States. The bridge across the Shenandoah was not destroyed. The evacuation of the town was begun late on Wednesday night, when two regiments, who had received orders in the afternoon to hold themselves in readiness, took their departure afoot in the direction of Charlestown. Early the succeeding morning general orders were issued for the entire force to prepare for an immediate departure, and the baggage wagons, which to the number of about 500, had been collected from among the farmers of the surrounding country during the previous fortnight, were heavily laden with army stores, camp equipage, etc. and left about 10 o'clock on Thursday morning, escorted by two regiments of infantry. One hour later, and the general movement of the troops was commenced: tents were struck, and were placed, with all the remaining stores and ammunition, in a large number of cars which had been collected for their transportation, and were thus conveyed South, to join, it is believed, the force of Gen. Beauregard at Manassas Junction. The sick, to the amount of 100, and a regiment of infantry also, left the town by the Winchester Railroad; the remainder pursued their journey afoot. One full regiment of Virginians, numbering it is estimated, about 1 100 men took the road to Leesburg, which winds around the mountain, but whether they continued on their march thither, or took the route to Charlestown and [illegible] section with the former road, could not be ascertained. By midnight on Thursday the main body of the army numbering, it is variously estimated, from 4,000 to 7,000 men, had left Harper's Ferry. The rear guard, comprising one regiment of Mississippians and the Kentucky regiment together with the [illegible] several Virginia regiments [illegible] the government property [illegible] the enemy. [illegible] retired by way of the Winchester road, and Harper's Ferry [illegible].

It appears that all the reports of [illegible] on the Maryland [illegible] by the rebels [illegible] Gen. [illegible] was found.

They did not move from this place any too soon, [illegible] a few days more they would have been completely surrounded by the advancing column of the United States. A letter in the Baltimore American, dated at Harper's Ferry on Saturday, says:

"A gentleman direct from Charlestown reports that the Confederate forces are now encamped on [illegible] in the county of Charleston, on which John Brown was hung. The spot is stated by him to be an admirable one for an encampment, the surrounding country being an almost perfectly level plain, well wooded and watered. As a strategic position it is said to be very important, being the point at which the roads from Winchester, [illegible], Martinsburg, Shepherdstown [illegible] all intersect. The troops seemed to be engaged in throwing up intrenchments in the direction of [illegible]."

When the rebels took possession of Harper's Ferry, they no doubt hoped to regain a foothold at Baltimore, and to move against Washington from the North and west. In this they were disappointed, and the advance of Gen. Patterson on the North and Gen McClelland on the West compelled them to fall back upon the main line of the rebel force under Gen. Beauregard. It is reported that a portion of them was expected to proceed to Romney, to join the command of Henry A. Wise, the crazy ex-Governor of Virginia, who was reported to be on his march from Staunton with three thousand men, to oppose the progress of Gen. McClelland's forces from the West. How much he expects to accomplish with three thousand men does not clearly appear; but, of course, according to Virginia reckoning, they will be a match for fifteen thousand Yankees.

A REBEL PROCLAMATION.

Gen. Beauregard, in command at Manassas Junction, has issued a proclamation to the people of that portion of Virginia, in which, by the grossest lying, he seeks to inflame their hostility toward the North. He says:

"A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal, and constitutional restraints, has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage, too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated.

"All rules of civilized warfare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not on their banners, that their war cry is 'Beauty and Booty.' All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives, are involved in this momentous contest."

"SABLE CLOUDS."

HON. J. M. ASHLEY, member of Congress from Ohio, lately visited Fortress Monroe, where he conversed with many of the "contraband" chattels. Writing to the Toledo *Blade*, he says:

"The people of this nation will never consent that those slaves, who refuse to fight against us, and escape to our camps and aid us all they can, shall be given up *now* to their assumed owners, or, at the conclusion of the war, that they shall again be returned to slavery. The man or party who will do this thing is already condemned to a political death, and will be execrated, as he ought to be, by posterity."

NEGRO INSURRECTION FRUSTRATED.—The Memphis *Avalanche* says:—A man named Fletcher, living in Columbia township, Randolph Co., Arkansas, divulged last week a plot to the citizens which he had discovered among the negroes in that vicinity. The plot contemplated the murder of several citizens whom they supposed had money, and then to make their way to the free States. An investigation led to the development of the fact that certain negroes had proposed to give Fletcher twenty dollars each to take them to a free State, announcing that their plan contemplated the murder of citizens, the possession of their means, and their final escape to the North. The negroes implicated by Fletcher, twenty in number, were arrested. A white man, named Percifield, found guilty of being an instigator in the affair, was hung, as was also Fletcher, who was connected with Percifield.

A HAPPY NEGRO.—*Camp Defiance, Cairo, Ill. June 12, 1861.*—We have a "contraband" negro engaged upon the fortifications. He arrived here in a skiff two or three evenings since, bearing unmistakable evidences of long travel. The cotton seed which he brought in his wool corroborates his statement that he came from Mississippi. He *says* that he is free; and no doubt he is, in fact, whatever he may be technically. He seems to be, just now, one of the happiest Africans on the North American continent. On the night of his arrival I first saw him, beside the guard-house, surrounded by a party of soldiers. He answered my salutation with "Good evenin' mass'r," removing his old wool hat from his grizzly head. He smiled all over his face, and bowed all through his body, as he depressed his head, slightly lifting his left foot, with the gesture which only the unmistakable darkey can give.

"Well, uncle, have you joined the army?"

"Yes, mass'r" (with another African *salam*).

"Are you going to fight?"

"No, mass'r, *I'se not a fighting nigger; I'se a running nigger!*"

"Are n't you afraid of starving, up here among the Abolitionists?"

"Reckon not, mass'r—not much." And Sambo gave a concluding bow, with indescribable drollery shining through his sooty face, which was bisected by two rows of glittering ivory, extending almost from ear to ear.—*Tribune.*

THE NEGROES OF RICHMOND.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, after visiting Richmond, writes: "Some time ago a movement was made to fortify Richmond. About 200 negroes, taken from the tobacco factories, were set at work in the erection of batteries, but being unaccustomed to laboring in the sun they accomplished almost nothing. About 9 o'clock they were mustered to go to their labor at a distance of two miles from the city. The march was made the occasion for a general jollification on the part of the negroes. They formed companies, chose officers, and, with hootings and shouts, bearing Confederate flags, marched out, reaching the place where the works were being thrown up, between 10 and 11 o'clock. Twenty ordinary laboring men would have done more work than the whole of these negroes. This attempt to turn the negroes to account has been abandoned, and about 60 convicts from the penitentiary have taken their place. This is the entire force now employed on the defences of Richmond. The soldiers do not work on the fortifications, but are encamped on the opposite side of the city."

THE VIRGINIANS profess to have no fears of an insurrection among the slaves, but this is really one of their greatest sources of misgiving. I rode some distance with a negro trader, who told me of an extensive plot for a rising lately discovered in Mississippi, from which State he had just come.—*Cor. Tribune.*

HORRORS.—The horrors of the slave States on the Mississippi now are beyond even the Austrian tyranny. There is little or nothing said about the slaves; this silence is ominous, and betrays the fiery volcano over which they cannot now slumber. They are, indeed, at the point of desperation. —*Cairo Cor. World.*

NEGRO FUGITIVES have been challenged by our sentinels. Our men are not disposed to aid in their escape, but they will have no part in reclaiming them, although money has been offered them, in some instances, for their assistance. —*Annapolis Cor. Tribune.*

A "CONTRABAND" FOUND AT SEA.—The steamer Georgiana, which, with the Adelaide, forms the regular daily mail and passenger line direct between Baltimore and Fort Monroe, yesterday morning (June 11) brought in among her passengers a "contraband." When some miles off the Point an object was observed some distance from the shore, which appeared to be a log floating with a child upon it. The steamer immediately bore away toward it, until it proved to be a large boat canoe, bottom upward, with a poor negro fugitive sitting upon it. He was apparently frightened very much, and was astride the canoe, crouched closely down, with both hands over his ears. On being pulled on board he said he was afraid the steamer had "secessioners" on it. He had heard the firing at Great Bethel Church the day before, and supposing that the rebels had taken the place and would catch him if he remained on shore, he ran away and embarked in the boat on which he was found. Not knowing how to manage it, it had upset in a squall, and he climbed out from the waves and upon its bottom where he had been floating ever since. He said he was the slave of a Mr. Paine. He was taken to Fort Monroe and is now a servant in Col. Butler's family. —*Cor. World.*

SIX slaves belonging to a wealthy planter near Brandon Miss., having been suspected of attempting an insurrection among the slaves in that neighborhood, to which they confessed after extortion was resorted to, were burned. Many planters are sending their entire families to Kentucky, and even into the [illegible] tion is their constant [illegible] by day and [illegible] night. [illegible] trips are made [illegible] to capture runaway slaves. Coming into Virginia, our [illegible] the mountains were full of the chattels. —*Cairo Cor. Tribune.*

NEGRO "GUERILLAS" FROM GEORGIA.—The following is an extract from a business letter received in New York dated Georgia, June [illegible]: "We are all for the war here and when the North [illegible] the South there will be none left living; our women will fight [illegible] all we are sorry for is that our folks don't come along and give us a chance at them. We [illegible] show them that we all have *sand* in our gizzards. I expect to leave in a few days for Virginia. I take with me three of my negro men, who will [illegible] by me. We are raising two companies of negroes to act as guerrillas in Virginia, and [illegible] tribe had best keep a good look out, for [illegible] vengeance against him and his crew; they [illegible] can't fool them. We hung seven men in this place a few days since, and there are several more to hang. Yankees had better keep away." —*World.*

[illegible]—In his last published letter to the London *Times* of June [illegible], Dr Russell speaks of "slave insurrections much as property holders in fever and ague districts speak of that dreaded disease." "Not here," they assure the visitor, "about a mile off to the left there; they have it badly, but here it is perfectly healthy." Dear Dr Russell!

"No planter hereabouts has any dread of his slaves. But I have seen, within the short time I have been in this part of the world, several dreadful accounts of murder and violence, in which masters suffered at the hands of their slaves. There is something suspicious in the constant never-ending statement that 'we are not afraid of our slaves.'"

[illegible]—John [illegible] of Wheeling, found a missing slave in an Ohio camp, who was returned to him by the Colonel and committed to jail. It is to be presumed that Little is loyal. The disposition of these cases is left to the discretion of the commanding officers, who usually bear in mind the general distinction between friends and enemies. The Administration has come to no conclusion in the matter contrary to that contained in Secretary Cameron's [illegible] letter to Gen Butler, published some weeks ago. The journals which assert that Gen. Butler has been directed to receive no more contraband are misinformed. —*Washington Cor. Tribune.*

THE DISPOSITION OF THE CONTRABAND SLAVES.—The question of the proper disposition of slaves of the enemy which seek refuge within our lines has been before the Cabinet several times recently. Gen. Butler having desired further instructions. The inquiry is found to be not unattended with difficulties. The expensiveness of supporting so many negroes as are likely to fall into our hands, the trouble of finding suitable and sufficient work for them, and the importance of settling at once their final disposition, are thought to embarrass the question. An expression of opinion from the country is needed for the guidance of the Administration, which, unless supported by a strong popular sentiment, may hesitate to assume the obligations incident to the reception of all, men, women, and children, who may seek to transfer their services from the Southern to the Northern army. Can we declare that able-bodied men alone are contraband of war, when their wives and children are perhaps as helpful to the rebels in other ways as they in digging intrenchments? —*Washington Cor. Tribune.*

A CORRECTION. It is not true that one of Butler's contraband of war is employed at the White House. A thoughtless person brought a small parcel there, but the President never received it, and it was sent away within five minutes after its arrival. The President knew nothing about the matter until the boy had gone, and then expressed himself strongly against the propriety of the proceeding.—*Tribune.*

RENDEZVOUS OF "CONTRABANDS."—The negroes, who are now almost the only inhabitants of the beautiful village of Hampton, were filled with consternation when, in the darkness, they found the streets thronged with soldiers. "The Secessionists is come," was whispered around, and they, for a time, believed their rendition to slavery, or, what they dread perhaps even more, a transportation to Norfolk to work upon secession batteries, impending. It has been the practice, for some time, of the band of rebels which the late excursion was designed to break up, to descend upon these rendezvouses of escaped slaves, capture as many as they can command at once, and conduct them to Norfolk. There they are treated with unprecedented cruelty, and forced to work upon the batteries. These invading attacks have made the lives of the poor fugitives one of constant terror, and no language can adequately describe their rejoicing when the troops were discovered to be "Unioners," as they call them. . . . The greater part of the village is on the western side of the river. There the houses were literally thronged with negroes, who looked on in terrified astonishment at the numbers of armed men tramping the street. Black forms of every sex, color, and size, and dark faces of every hue might be seen at the windows and doors and on the street corners. As we passed, the poor fellows raised their hats in profound respect, and the females bowed obsequiously. I paused at the only open store in the place, to procure stationery for notes of the expedition. I seated myself to write, and, in a few moments, the room was literally crowded with negroes—the most of them stalwart, able-bodied men, who stared at me most unmercifully, though, if I raised my eyes, they were looking in quite another direction—the sly blackamoors. I could hear such whispers as, "No he'm no Secessioner!" "He'm Union sojer!" and many guesses or rather "reckons" as to the effect my writing might have upon them. Finally, I inquired how far it might be to Back River. In an instant every hat was raised. "Tree miles, massa!"

The throng were still indulging in speculations as to my employment, etc., when one of them approached me very formally, holding down before him his hat with both hands:

"Massa, dese colored peoples wants to know if you belongs to de Unioner *Calvary?*" My assurance to the contrary was followed by many apologies for asking so important a question, and assurances that they were "on the Unioner side."

At length, a black woman came in very much affected. "Oh," said she, the tears meanwhile coursing down her cheeks, "I hope and pray de Lord for dese sojers, and dat dey may go on from conquer to conquer!"

Such is the prevalent feeling among them, and they understand well what the word liberty means, though they have never learned to read it. Not one of those before knew his letters.—*Cor. World.*

VARIOUS FACTS AND INCIDENTS.

THE REV. DR. PERKINS, long a missionary of the American Board in Persia, was recently in England. In a letter to the Earl of Shaftesbury he said: "That God has taken the monstrous evil and sin of slavery in hand, and designs to shake it down by civil war, as the proximate if not the immediate agency, I have not the shadow of a doubt. It is an issue inaugurated and precipitated by the slaveholders themselves in their wild infatuation."

THE SOUTHERN SOLDIERS.—The troops arriving in Richmond are many of them in a most miserable and destitute condition. The hospitals are full. The change of climate and water tells as severely upon the troops coming from the cotton States as the extreme Southern climate would upon Northern men. These men, miserably clad, weak and tottering many of them, present a pitiable sight, as they pass through the street, seeming like sheep going to the slaughter. One regiment, the Louisiana Zouaves, looked like cannibals, ragged and filthy, many of them nearly black. Three of them were shot a few days ago for disorderly conduct, and the citizens declared that, if they were allowed to be about the town, they would shoot them at sight as they would mad dogs.—*Cor. Tribune.*

SOUTHERN HATRED OF THE NORTH.—A correspondent of *The Tribune*, after travelling in Virginia, says: "Stories of the most incredible outrages perpetrated by our troops are current, and fully believed. I was told with the most perfect assurance that when the Federal troops took possession of Newport News, two of the men went to a private house, and while one of them held a pistol to the head of the father the other violated his daughter. By accounts such as these the feelings of the people have been wrought up to the intensest hatred. Even the women and children share in this, and I verily believe that the women would fight like she-tigers. Persons calling themselves gentlemen are heard fairly raving with blasphemous abuse of the Federal officers, Gen. Scott coming in for the largest share. The language I heard used is too profane and obscene to give even an idea of."

INGENIOUS DEVICES.—I learned the manner in which the "Law Grays" made their escape from Baltimore, and joined the rebels. They got up a mock funeral of one of the members, filling the coffin with muskets. A number of ladies in carriages accompanied the procession as mourners, with various "munitions" concealed about their persons. The sad procession moved into the suburbs, and when fairly out of reach of observation, the coffin was despoiled, and the Grays went their way to the rebel lines. A certain mantuamaker at the Ferry told me with great zest of two or three trips she had made to Baltimore, taking with her her apprentices, and bringing off "arms and munitions of war," in defiance of the late circular of the Secretary of the Treasury, each being converted into a perfect magazine for the occasion. —*Cor. Tribune.*

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT proposes to procure a new style of stamped envelopes. This has been made necessary by the action of the rebels, whose postmasters steal those now in their hands.

JAMES A. BAYARD, United States Senator from Delaware, being in full sympathy with the Southern rebellion, has been requested, by one of the largest public meetings ever held at the capital of the State, to resign.

WANTS PEACE. Mr. Jefferson Davis has written to his sympathizing friend in Maryland that his government would like to have peace with the [illegible] of the United States. We haven't a doubt of it. So would the slavers on the coast of Africa. —*Tribune.*

INTELLIGENCE FROM LOUISVILLE, KY., states that the effect of the blockade has been so severe that all trade is dead. A citizen of Louisville had been hanged by the rebels between Memphis and that city, his crime being loyalty to the Union. By the side of the road between the places named a Northern man was seen by travellers in a dying condition, with his head shaved, and his ears and nose cut off.

[illegible]

SOUTHERN AMBASSADORS.—[illegible]

[illegible]

for ten years has been obliged to rise at daylight and knit till dark [illegible] all she can do [illegible] herself a few of the comforts necessary to old age. Lee has been in the habit of giving her weekly *a peck of unground corn and two* [illegible]. These facts were known to me before the present troubles began. A slave girl of sixteen attempted to run away from the plantation a year since, and was caught. [illegible] ordered her to be stripped to the waist and flogged, and this was done in the presence of her mother. [illegible] the girl was taken to Richmond and sold [illegible] to some cotton plantation. It is not strange that the slaves left behind gladly welcome the change. —*Washington Cor. Evening Post.*

[illegible]—From a gentleman who is well informed, I learn that the rebels are entirely out of leather, and their movements are restricted for the want of [illegible] for the [illegible] harness for the artillery, and saddle [illegible] for cavalry. There are but a few small tanneries in the South, and if the government will only enforce its embargo by land and sea, the rebels will be greatly embarrassed in their operations. The rebels are also short of material for making caps, although they have constructed a machine for making percussion caps, from a drawing in the [illegible] at Richmond. They are also out of chemicals for making detonating powder, and therefore cannot employ shells for the want of fuses. —*Washington Cor. Times.*

[illegible]—The only business carried on in Virginia, [illegible] I could discover, is the manufacture of shinplasters and [illegible]. Many private bankers are issuing shinplasters [illegible] cents [illegible] cents. They are not considered [illegible] anything, but there is no specie in circulation, and [illegible] bank notes of a less denomination than $5. [illegible] of some sort for these and for State [illegible] these [illegible] of currency are considered as [illegible]. They serve the purpose of a nominal [illegible]. —*Cor. Tribune.*

DESTITUTION.—The stock of provisions in Virginia is running low, [illegible] especially, the supply is short, and no one can tell where more is to be obtained. In another month or two, every man, woman, and child, in the Confederate States will be barefoot, for there is no supply of boots and shoes in market. The country is ransacked for [illegible] and the Confederate troops are already suffering from [illegible] of the article. —*Cor. Tribune.*

INDIAN [illegible].—The New Orleans *Crescent* of the 4th inst., [illegible] which it deems unquestionable, says: "The Choctaws held a council on the 24th of May, and formally dissolved their connection with the United States government, and issued a manifesto to the Choctaws, Creeks, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, and to the Reserve Indians, advising them to secede from the Old Union, and to petition the Southern Confederacy to be received as a distinct [illegible] Territory, instead of an Indian Territory. The friendly Indians are all in favor of it. They had ordered off all the Yankee missionaries in the country. The Indians also took up two Abolitionists from Northern Texas, one of whom was a preacher, and hung them."

FOREIGN LETTERS FOR THE SOUTH.—Seventeen hundred foreign letters addressed to persons in the rebel States, were received from New York at the Dead Letter Office Saturday morning. Thirty-four hundred had been previously sent thither from Boston, New York, and Chicago. Foreign letters will be delivered to agents of Southern houses, if properly identified, upon payment of postage under our postal treaties. They will not be opened at the Dead Letter Office. —*Tribune.*

TWO UNION MEN at Williamsburg, Covington County, Miss., suspected of being in correspondence with the "Abolitionists," on the 31st ult., were tarred and feathered, and after tying them up, consigned them to prison, where they were to receive twenty lashes, once a week, for two months. A letter was found in possession of one of them, directed to the editor of the New York *Tribune*, and although there was nothing in the letter of any importance, yet the directions were sufficient to convince the self-constituted jury that the prisoners were guilty.

WANT NEGROES TO DO THE HARD WORK.—The Richmond *Whig* publishes a letter from a rebel soldier at Manassas Junction, the writer of which says: "The real evil is the working night and day in digging trenches and throwing up fortifications of dirt by men unaccustomed to labor. In cold weather it might be stood, but in hot weather the result is already seen in quadrupling the sick list. The volunteers have seen in the newspapers that many wealthy gentlemen have tendered their negroes for these labors, and they know that there are thousands of free negroes who might be so employed. I really believe if this state of things continue ten days there will be at least one-fifth of the force here on the sick list or dead, for we have no real hospital here, and medicine is as scarce in the surgical department as money is in the camp. Besides this, it is difficult to get water enough to drink, and even officers cannot get it. Water is guarded and given out as provisions are given out. On this very day some forty sick have been sent to Culpepper Court-house. Please call the attention of Governor Letcher and General Lee to the propriety of sending slaves and free negroes here to do this kind of work. It could be done by this class in one fourth the time, and leave the volunteers their time to perfect themselves in drill, for every detail in work is necessarily absent from drill, as also made physically unable to go through the more rapid and complicated movements we are now learning." It has been claimed that the Southern soldiers could endure hardship better than those of the North, but we believe the latter have not yet asked for negroes to relieve them from the necessity of handling the spade and the wheelbarrow.

COTTON VS. WHISKY.—The editor of the Brookhaven (Miss.) *Advertiser* offers the following argument in favor of raising more corn than cotton:

"We have always been persistently in favor of planting a large crop of corn, even if cotton has to be a little neglected, particularly in times like these, when communication with the Ohio may be cut off at any moment. Corn is a necessity, but cotton is only a convenience. A man can live very well without a shirt, but what can he do without whiskey?"

JOHN BEMAN, formerly of Boston, Mass., and employed on a Mississippi steamer, was hung at Mound City, Arkansas, on the 6th inst., by a number of citizens of that place, "for expressing Union sentiments." Mr. Beman was upwards of sixty years old.

A WASHINGTON CLERGYMAN ON THE WAR.—A sermon preached in one of our most fashionable churches, by one of our first clergymen, last Sunday (June 9th), gives the stranger an excellent idea of the position of many of our citizens in relation to the present war. The sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Sunderland, a native of the State of New York, but a notorious time-server. In his Church there are wealthy men who recently sympathized with the rebels, but who are obliged to be silent for the present. The sermon alluded to was upon *the crisis*, and Dr. Sunderland's view was certainly a novel one. It was, that the whole cause of the war is the personal sinfulness of men North and South. The preacher asserted the general corruption of men North and South, and declared the war to be God's judgment upon it, and hoped, if the whole country would go to praying, we might be relieved from our difficulties. He most carefully ignored the real cause of the war—adroitly omitted to characterize the rebellion—in fact the rebels and traitors in his Church went away satisfied with the sermon and the "exceeding sinfulness of sin."—*Washington Cor. Evening Post.*

A WORD fitly spoken is like an apple of gold in a picture of silver. The London *Daily News* of May 21st makes this significant remark, which shows what is the real sentiment of England in relation to the United States, and should calm any fears of the final decision of the people of England with regard to our controversy: "We ask our friends in the free States of America not to believe that because their struggle is here and there misrepresented for party purposes in England, the English people do not thoroughly understand the nature of the contest in which they are engaged."

THE REIGN OF TERROR IN TENNESSEE.—We saw yesterday seven Union men of Tennessee, all fleeing from that State for the protection of life and limb. Such of them as are the owners of property have left nearly the whole of it behind, and some of them, with scarcely a dollar in their pockets, know not where to go or how to obtain for themselves and families the means of subsistence. Besides these fugitives we saw yesterday two gentlemen who, being known to contemplate a visit to Tennessee, have been warned that it would be at the peril of their lives. Yet one of these gentlemen is a native of Tennessee, where his ancestors have lived for sixty or seventy years, and the step-son of a distinguished Tennessee statesman, who recently betrayed the Union party; and he knows of no better ground of complaint against himself than that he once entertained at his house a Free Soil United States Senator.—*Louisville Journal, June 4.*

SOUTHERN STRAWS.—There are some curious items in a copy of *The Courier* of Natchez, Mississippi, dated June 1. For instance, the editor publishes this moving appeal in double-leaded type:

"The receipts of the office during the last two weeks have not been one-tenth of its expenses for the same time. We know how hard times are—that a dollar is as big as a cart-wheel; but a printing office requires money every week. This office spends for hands, paper and telegraph, not less than $200 weekly, without taking into regard a single dollar for editorial labor."

By way of showing how "independent of the North" the South is, we copy two notices from the advertising columns of the same sheet:

"NEW PHILADELPHIA SHOES.—A. J. Postlethwaite has just received and has now in store a large and full stock of Philadelphia made shoes, consisting of, etc."

"COAL! COAL!—I have just received a supply of coal from Pittsburg, cheap for cash. A. DONNAN."

The Courier also has a begging appeal for funds to fit out a new company of rebel soldiers.—*Evening Post.*

DIED.

THAYER.—In Auburn, N. Y., June 5, after a protracted and painful illness, Phebe R. Thayer, aged 32.

Of rare mental power and amiable characteristics, she endeared herself to family and friends, whose tears still flow because of their bereavement; but not for her need they mourn—their faith assures that

"Up with the skylark's lay,
Her soul has winged its way
To the supernal source of life and light." W.

Special Notices.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, at the house of M. R. Robinson, Salem, on Sunday, the 7th of July, at the usual hour. A full attendance is requested.

M. R. ROBINSON.

GRAND ANTI-SLAVERY PICNIC IN ROCHESTER, N. Y.—The friends of freedom in Western New York are invited to join with the Abolitionists of Rochester and vicinity, in celebrating the 85th Anniversary of American Independence, on the Fourth of July next.

Addresses will be delivered by Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Giles B. Stebbins and others. Appropriate music will be provided.

The meeting will be held in GREGORY'S GROVE, at the head of South Avenue.

Carriages will be in waiting at the Dépot, on the arrival of all the trains, between 9 and 11 o clock a.m. The speaking will commence at [illegible] a.m. and 3 p.m.

Let there be a large gathering—all remembering to bring with them "*their basket and their store*," that the occasion may be eminently social as well as instructive.

DR. WM. P. POWELL, JR., SURGEON, &c., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London, Licentiate in Midwifery, Dublin, [illegible] Resident Surgeon to the Liverpool [illegible] Hospital, [illegible] Liverpool Eye and Ear Institution, [illegible] begs leave to announce to the citizens of [illegible] that he has returned to his native city [illegible] where he may be consulted or attend patients at his residence, [illegible] Street from 9 to 11 a.m., 2 to 4 and 7 to 8 p.m., and during the night.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SPECTRE AT SUMTER.

I stood on the walls [illegible]
As the solemn night came down
On the lone [illegible] fortress
On the [illegible] town,
While through the [illegible] heavens
[illegible] and shell
A [illegible]
From the open mouths of hell
While the flag of a [illegible] nation
On the [illegible] air,
Still waved [illegible] station
Amid the fiery [illegible].

And I saw where fiercest, [illegible]
Raged the terrible battle storm—
Where the bursting shells [illegible] hottest
There towered a spectral form.
I knew by its proud erectness,
By its calm, determined mien,
By the strong arms sternly folded,
By the deep, clear eye serene,
'Twas that old man, lion-hearted
Of the dark and terrible frown
The genius of retribution—
Old Osawatomie Brown.

"'Tis well!" he murmured, softly,
"O traitorous, coward band!
Ply your engines [illegible] faster,
'Gainst the flag of your native land!
Rain your deathful hail more hotly
On the heads of that faithful few,
Stifled and faint and famished,
With their flag of truce in view!

"Roar louder, ye murderous cannon!
With every echoing boom
O'er the hills of the sturdy Northland
Sweeps the story of Sumter's doom;
And I hear above your thunder
The shout of a warrior band,
Waked suddenly from slumber,
To strike for their native land.

"As the lion of the desert
Leaps fiercely from his lair,
And gazes down the distance
With fixed and fiery glare—
As the bolt along the storm-cloud
Quivers in fierce unrest,
Ere it burst in triple vengeance
On earth's rent and quivering breast—
E'en so the sons of Freedom
For one dreadful moment stand,
Till your murderous hand uplifted
Is struck at your native land.

"Strike fiercer, faster, murderers!
Steeped to the core in sin,
See, the flag of your country drooping—
Aim at it once again!
All Sumter's guns are voiceless,
And the flames are hot within,
And faint are her brave defenders—
Aim at her once again!
Ha! dastards, cravens, cowards,
Ye are brave and knightly men!
Your foes disabled, silenced—
Fire on them once again!

"Ah! mine is the unsealed vision,
And mine is the prophet ear;
Ye may laugh in your mad derision,
But the day of doom is near!
New England's hills will echo
With the warrior's battle-cry,
And New York's Excelsior banner
'Mid shoutings kiss the sky:
From the free North's lakes and rivers,
O'er the distant prairie's breast,
From true-souled Pennsylvania,
And the bold, unfettered West—
Like the roar of the mountain torrent,
Like the shriek of the tempest comes.
'God and our country ever!
Our banner and our homes!'

"Oh! this is the day I prayed for,
When against the wintry sky,
With the rope around my throttle
Ye hung me up to die—
The day when my free-born brothers
In their lofty faith will rise,
And wipe from their fair escutcheon
The stain that on it lies—
When manhood, crushed and blighted,
Trampled and bruised and torn;
And womanhood, lashed, polluted,
The victim of lust and scorn,
From their fainting spirits lifted
The burden and the blight,
May wake from their loathsome serfdom
To revel in freedom's light.

"My country! O my country!
I have called on you oft before,
Would God that my strong appealing
Might enter your souls once more!
As you value the boon of freedom,
So fearlessly won for you,
Strike home for your firesides bravely,
And a whole free country too!
Let your proud flag kiss the heavens
With never a blot or stain;
O'er bleeding human chattels
Never to float again!" —*Tribune.*

PLEASANT REMINISCENCE OF GEN. SCOTT.

In 1835, James G. Birney, Esq., District Attorney in Alabama, afterward resident in Kentucky, emancipated all his slaves, and subsequently visited many of the free States, lecturing as he went, to prove that slavery was a bad system, unjust and inhuman toward the colored race, and injurious to the prosperity of States. In the course of this lecturing tour, in the spring of 1839, he wrote to the editor of *The Emancipator*, as follows.

"Coming from New York to Boston, I fell in with Gen. Scott, who was on his way to Maine, in consequence of the border difficulties there. He is among the most interesting men with whom it has been my fortune at any time to meet. His views are large and comprehensive, such as are found only in statesmen of a superior order. He hears patiently and impartially, answers without haste, and apparently without prejudice. In the course of our conversation I saw that he rightly understood the influence of the religious principle with men; that he had clear perceptions of justice and of right, as rules of action, and that he considered them binding upon governments as well as upon individuals. Since the anti-slavery movement has attracted public attention, he has not had leisure to give his mind to its examination. But should he, at any time hereafter, be called to act in relation to it, I should rely with strong confidence on his giving to the subject the impartial consideration its importance demands, and on his arriving at the wise conclusions to which, with such a temper, the spirit of truth would conduct him. While he cannot be called an Abolitionist, neither can he be called a slaveholder.

"He told me a pleasant anecdote about the emancipation of a large number of slaves in Virginia, of which State, you know, he is a native. The substance of the story was as follows. When the General was a lad, there was still living an old Indian woman, named Hannah, reputed to be a slave. She was almost a centenarian. She had been unusually prolific, and her descendants, now numbered by the hundred, were all held as slaves. More than thirty of them were held by Mr. Scott, brother of the General. How they came into his possession was not mentioned.

"It began to be whispered round in the neighborhood that Hannah's posterity could not be held in bondage, according to the laws of Virginia, because she was a free Indian woman, who had 'taken up' with a slave, as the phrase is, and lived with him as his wife, performing servile work on the plantation for permission to remain there. The slaves concerned instituted a suit for their freedom, and the necessary counsel was employed. The chief management devolved upon Frank, an active, intelligent, and faithful servant—one of the number held by Mr. Scott. Winfield Scott, now General, became warmly interested for Frank and his co-plaintiffs. He made memoranda for him on paper, filled up his blank subpœnas, and did all that a young unprofessional scribe could do to assist him in preparing the cause for a hearing. It was a difficult matter to secure the attendance of witnesses, many of them being old, and scattered about the country. On this account the cause was continued through several terms. A short time before the Court was to be held, Frank would go to his master, and a conversation of this kind would take place:

"'Master, I come to ask leave to go and serve my subpœnas.'

"'Certainly, Frank; you can go if you think it is time. With so much at stake for yourself and others, you ought to be diligent to secure the attendance of your witnesses.'

"'I may stand in need of a little money, sir, to pay ferriages and other expenses.'

"'Very true, Frank. Here are five dollars for you. But how are you going?'

"'Afoot, sir.'

"'You had better take a horse, Frank; you will be able to get through your business and come back sooner. Take Roger; and as he must be fed, too, here is as much more money to pay the charges.'

"'Thankee, master.'

"Old Hannah was finally proved never to have been legally a slave; and, as *partus sequitur ventrem*, all her offspring were declared free. Frank came home from the scene of triumph, and exclaimed, 'Well, master, we've gained our cause!'

"'Have you, Frank? Well, what are you that are with me going to do with yourselves?

"'As for us, master, we can't leave you.

"'But I cannot afford to pay the wages you will expect, Frank.'

"'There won't be much in the way as to that, sir. We have thought that, take us all together, old and young, big and little, we should be worth to you what we have been used to receiving all along.'

"'But that will never do, Frank. I cannot agree to that. You must have wages for your work.'

'Mr. Scott accordingly made an estimate of what he ought to pay them, ranging from one dollar to six dollars a month. These emancipated slaves remained with him to the day of his death. When he saw one who he thought could do better for himself by his industry and enterprise, he would advise him to seek other employment, and they bore such good character, that there was no difficulty in their procuring situations. It was only in this way that any of them left him.

"This instance of immediate emancipation ought to put to flight the gloomy apprehensions that many people entertain. 1. Neither Mr. Scott nor any of his family had their throats cut. 2. The emancipated slaves did not leave the service of their master, and roam round the country as idle vagabonds. 3. They were content with moderate wages. They all supported themselves, and some were enterprising and prosperous. 4. It proves that freedom is eagerly desired by those in bonds, since these people took much trouble to obtain it, though they were perfectly willing to remain with their master on the same terms they had been accustomed to as slaves.

"This anecdote is also pleasant as illustrating the feeling that prevailed in *old* Virginia, as contrasted with the fury of *modern* Virginia.

"James G. Birney."

GRAND MISTAKES OF OUR HISTORY.

Some of our gentle democratic philosophic historians who wrote before the ulcer of American slavery had made its dreadful appearance in 1861, and almost destroyed the body politic, will have now to rewrite their philosophic chapters. Those very cunning and skilful little "compromises," wherein the unimportant principles of honor and justice were quietly bartered for a little more "Union" and "Commerce," are found, in the light of the awful conflagration of this year, to have been not quite so shrewd "dodges" as they appeared to time-servers then and since. Even some of the historic figures who have stood in the niches of our saints and patriots, and been so long worshipped, are discovered to represent men not quite so wise as we once believed them.

The grand mistakes of our history have been the *Bargains of Morality* we have made.

It is an error of the English writers upon this country to suppose that the essential differences of pursuit between the Northern and Southern people separate us. On the contrary, with the remarkable practical tact and skill of our people, no mere differences of habits, occupations, and interests would have ever been suffered thus to tear us apart; they would even have joined us closer together. A nation is all the better and stronger for a variety of interests. We could have "compromised" on tariffs and business matters to all time. Besides, in the broad view of a true economy, the interests of our producers, exchangers, and consumers are all the same. But when the shrewd Yankees and the plodding Dutch undertook to buy and sell just a little of *conscience* to their Southern brethren, it was quite another matter.

This is a thing which will not stay "compromised." It has a troublesome habit of putting itself up continually, when you thought it was down. Our ingenious Bargains with Morality have been proved, in a most dreadful manner, *not to pay*.

It seems to me this national habit is not altogether broken yet. Here we have an awful war—worse than a dozen wars of 1812—such as will desolate and injure this country for a century to come.

The stupidest and most selfish can see and does see that it has all arisen from slavery; that it will come again with slavery in its old position or in any political position under our Constitution; and yet some of our most free-spoken presses who have done the noblest service for liberty are found handling the subject in the most delicate manner, and with the most carefully gloved hands. Of course their motive is the best. They do not wish to offend new allies. But what, after all, is the use of this mildness? Why should we not come out *now* and handle slavery just as it is? There was reason for moderation when we could *do* nothing, and had every one to convince; but that is not the case now. The people—the masses—the old Democrats, are becoming the strongest of the anti-slavery men. It is said, "Let them be convinced by facts! Let us not interfere."

But the mass of people always need to have facts interpreted and commented on.

Let us show, even to the dullest, that this war is the fruit of slavery; that its assassinations and treacheries are blossoms on the same tree; let us make it in our war-cry, what it is in reality, an *anti-slavery* war—a struggle to check slavery extension—to utterly break down the political Slave Power, and, wherever possible, to free the slaves.

If we do not succeed in the latter, we shall at least make the masses of the free States firm and lasting foes of human slavery, and shall insure no more perilous bargains with conscience.

There is no safe ending of this war—no permanent settlement possible—except on the basis of universal emancipation.—*Charles L. Brace, in The Independent.*

THE POSITION OF ENGLAND.

The people of America are in danger of falling into the mistake of a man in a state of intense feeling, to whom the very sun, moon, and stars appear cold and unfeeling for not palpitating and trembling to his emotions. It is most natural—but most to be guarded against.

Let us consider the matter coolly. What have we to complain of in England's official acts? Could we ask anything more than an official declaration of absolute neutrality, a formal withdrawment of the national protection from all subjects who should take sides against us, as privateers or otherwise? Certainly not.

Offence has been taken at speaking of the Confederate States as "belligerents"; but, after all, they *are* belligerents—they are, for the time being, a recognized military force, regularly armed and equipped, and all our national acts at present recognize them as belligerents as much as the words of certain Englishmen. For, be it noticed that the Queen's proclamation, which is the only *official* national voice, speaks of them very guardedly as "*certain States styling themselves*," etc., etc. What more careful avoidance of national recognition could be than this?

Let us consider that we have left our friends in England, to a late day, entirely without any true and just information on this subject. At the very time of Lincoln's election, a gentleman well known in America met in England and in Belgium the emissaries of the Southern Confederacy, who came in advance to see leading men, to privately prepare influential individuals to sympathize with a forthcoming movement, and to engage arms.

This was while good, credulous New England was still sleepily listening to the dying echoes of that everlasting

"Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber,"

with which we have been lulled so many years. There was to be no war! How absurd! Seward was weaving glittering cobwebs of pacification all pearly with the morning dew of a peace-loving Administration, and if we would only lie still and slumber an hour or two longer he would catch flies for us!

Meanwhile, England, like a thrifty matron, saw us all in bed and asleep and our enemies up and awake, and, with a national prejudice for promptness and energy, she was, of course, inclined in favor of those whom she saw in the field.

She was astonished and angry and ashamed at our sloth and inaction. She said, If these people will sleep so, and if these other people will wake and work, why then the early risers and workers will have it.

When Sumter fell, the news astounded the world. Americans abroad hung their heads. There was no Ambassador in England to explain. Mr. Francis Adams was waiting for his family. Dr. Dallas said he did not represent the Lincoln policy, and the Consul at Liverpool was a rabid Secessionist. We had friends enough in England who would have spoken and written for us, but their mouths were shut for very shame and astonishment.

Meanwhile, Southern emissaries were awake and active. "You see how it is," they said. "We are the people. There is no North. We have carried all our points in their face, and we shall continue to carry them. We shall have the Capitol before the next steamer comes—half the North will side with us—and the day is ours."

And truly, up to the day that Sumter fell, everything looked like it—and English friends, whom we may count by millions, stood silent. What was there to say? Well, we are awake now, and in the field, and let us not scold all the world for the mishaps that happened while we overslept ourselves.

The voice that says "Sleep no more" has gone out; and if we wait long enough we shall find its echoes in millions of brave and Christian English hearts, who are our brethren, our kinsmen, according to the flesh. As to the London *Times*, let us not call that the voice of the British people. *The Times* represents the principle of universal scepticism and opposition which doubts and opposes everything that is coming, and bows down to everything that is. *The Times* has successively and bitterly opposed every improvement in English society for the last fifty years. It opposed factory reforms, under Lord Shaftesbury; it opposed negro emancipation; it opposed all the modern philanthropies of Exeter Hall; it opposes the temperance reform now; it opposed Italian liberation through every step of its way. But there is this good thing to be said for *The Times*, that when a thing is certain to go, it turns in its favor with trumpets and hallelujahs. If it be like the serpent sent to strangle the young Hercules in his cradle, it becomes a very maternal nursing mother of a snake after Hercules gets old enough to insure his future. *The Times* is like the world—it will fight you till you *succeed*, and then it will adore. At the rate we are at present going on in America, we shall have *The Times* at our chariot wheels before many months—certainly before many years. The current saying in English society is that *The Times* has seven different consciences, one of which does duty for every emergency. Among them one will yet be found for our side, after we have demonstrated it by the logic of victory.—*Harriet Beecher Stowe, in The Independent.*

"EIN FESTE BURG IST UNSER GOTT"

(LUTHER'S HYMN.)

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation:
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mould anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

The hand-breadth cloud the sages feared
Its bloody rain is dropping;
The poison plant the fathers spared
All else is overtopping.
East, west, south, north,
It curses the earth;
All justice dies,
And fraud and lies
Live only in its shadow.

What gives the wheat-field blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On the old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks the oath
Of the men o' the South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?—
Hark to the answer: Slavery!

Then waste no blows on lesser foes
In strife unworthy freemen.
God lifts to-day the veil and shows
The features of the demon!
O North and South,
Its victims both,
Can ye not cry,
"Let Slavery die!"
And union find in freedom?

What though the cast-out spirit tear
The nation in his going,
We who have shared the guilt must share
The pang of his o'erthrowing!
Whate'er the loss,
Whate'er the cross,
Shall they complain
Of present pain
Who trust in God's hereafter?

For who that leans on His right arm
Was ever yet forsaken?
What righteous cause can suffer harm
If He its part has taken?
Though wild and loud
And dark the cloud,
Behind its folds
His hand upholds
The calm sky of to-morrow!

Above the maddening cry for blood,
Above the wild war-drumming,
Let Freedom's voice be heard, with good
The evil overcoming.
Give prayer and purse
To stay The Curse
Whose wrong we share,
Whose shame we bear,
Whose end shall gladden Heaven!

In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges,
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But, blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of slavery for ever!

Then let the selfish lip be dumb,
And hushed the breath of sighing,
Before the joy of peace, must come
The pains of purifying.
God give us grace
Each in his place
To bear his lot,
And, murmuring not,
Endure and wait and labor!

—*Independent.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE SILENT ACADEMY: OR, THE EMBLEMS.

From the French of the Abbe Blanchet.

There was at Hamadan a celebrated academy whose first statute was expressed in these terms: "The academicians think much, write little, and speak just as little as possible." It was called "The Silent Academy," and there was not in Persia a true *savant* who was not ambitious of being admitted. Dr. Zeb, author of an excellent little book entitled "The Gag," learned, in the retirement of his country home, that there was a vacancy in the Silent Academy. He at once took his departure, arrived at Hamadan, and presenting himself at the door of the hall in which the academicians were assembled, asked the door-keeper to hand to the President a note containing these words: "Dr. Zeb humbly requests the vacant place."

The door-keeper immediately performed the errand, but the doctor and his note came too late; the place was already filled. The Academy was distressed at this mischance. It had received, somewhat against its will, a wit, whose graceful and lively eloquence was the admiration of the Court, and now it found itself obliged to refuse Dr. Zeb, the scourge of braggarts, a man whose head was so well made, so well filled.

The President, charged with announcing this disagreeable news to the doctor, could scarcely determine how to convey it to him. After thinking a little, he caused a large cup to be filled with water—so exactly filled that a drop more would cause it to overflow. Then he signed to them to introduce the candidate. He appeared with that simple and modest air which almost always announces true merit. The President rose, and, without saying a single word, showed him, with a sorrowful air, the emblematic cup, that cup which was so exactly filled. The doctor understood too well that there was no longer a place for him in the Academy. But, without losing courage, he thought he would make them comprehend that a supernumerary academician would derange nothing. He saw at his feet a rose leaf, which he picked up and laid delicately on the surface of the water. He did it so carefully that not a single drop escaped. At this ingenious reply everybody applauded. The rules were set aside for that day, and the doctor was received by acclamation.

He was immediately presented with the register in which those who had been received inscribed their names. He wrote his, and it only remained for him to pronounce, according to custom, a phrase of thanks. But, like a truly silent academician, the doctor returned thanks without saying a word. He wrote on the margin the number one hundred, which was the number of his new associates, and then, placing a zero before it, wrote beneath, "They are worth neither more nor less (0,100)." The President replied to the modest doctor with as much politeness as presence of mind. He placed the figure one before the number one hundred, and wrote, "They are worth ten times more (1,100)." O. L. F.

FROM HAYTI.

The latest news received by the Haytian papers up to the 25th of May, are not calculated to increase our confidence in the power of Spain to retain undisturbed her recent acquisition—the Republic of Dominica. Though Marshall O'Donnell has, in the Madrid *Gazetta*, decreed that the territory constituting the Dominican Republic was, on the 19th of May, incorporated to the Spanish Monarchy, and intrusted the execution of that decree to the Governor of Cuba, it is visible that the possession of this territory will be an inexhaustible source of troubles and annoyances for the Spanish Cabinet. The haughty arrogance of the Spanish officers and their overbearing manners have indisposed the officers of the Dominican army, and it is said Santana himself is but an instrument in the hands of the Spanish Lieutenants, before whom he trembles and humiliates himself. Meanwhile, a great fermentation prevails in several districts of the island. Outbreaks have been heard of in many cities. At Moca an insurrection burst out among the soldiers and was suppressed, but with great difficulty. The Spanish Governor has established an inquisitorial tribunal, to exercise a strict watch upon the enlightened and wealthy citizens, and all suspected persons are arrested and put in jail. Benjamin Rojas, Vice-President of the Republic of Cibao, Sebastian Valverde, brother of ex-President Valverde, one Senator and one General, are among the prisoners. Seven persons accused of participating in an insurrection movement at Azua have been shot.

A better idea of the opposition of the Dominicans to the Spanish is to be found in the savage proclamation issued by a Spanish General, Valerio, commanding one of the districts. His policy towards the natives seems inspired by the bloody reminiscences of the conquest of Mexico, in which men were skinned alive, rather than by the humane dictates of our modern civilization. It is thus that he orders all groceries and liquor stores to be closed at sunset, and bids his soldiers to fire upon all groups of more than three persons who may be met in the streets after that time. Such a proclamation is not calculated to increase the love of the Spanish yoke among the inhabitants of that island.

The Haytian journals continue to denounce in bitter terms the occupation of St. Domingo by Spain. They say that she will require, over ten years, a large number of men, and an immense amount of money before she can enjoy the peaceful possession of that portion of the island, and that it is even doubtful whether she ever shall. They are very indignant at the idea of the Spanish government introducing coolies in St. Domingo, and express the sentiment, that the contact of these men will utterly demoralize the natives.

A great agricultural festival has been lately celebrated in the different cities of the Haytian Republic, and several patriotic speeches relating to Dominican affairs have been pronounced on that occasion. President Geffrard has issued an address, in which, after having stated the adaptedness of the soil to the cultivation of cotton, he recommends to his countrymen to bestow all their care upon the growth of that plant, and says that he has sent inspectors upon the plantations, in order to watch over the crop, and increase it, if possible.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE "MASSACHUSETTS SOLDIERS DEAD IN BALTIMORE."

"Send them back tenderly,"
The hardy young men
Who left us but yesterday!
"Tenderly" back again
Send them to-morrow.
Their young feet never more
Shall march on field or floor,
That marched so gallantly!
Those in their joy who went,
Proud to defend us,
Back to our sorrow
Tenderly send us.

"Send them back tenderly,"
Traitor, at least,
Who use guests so murderously,
Use victims tenderly,
Traitor, not beast.
Send them for shame,
For your glory who came!
Slain by no foreign foe,
Your treason laid them low.

Ye have your countrymen
On their own highway slain.
They for your country died.
Quick! ere their blood has cried
Out of your ground,
Send them back tenderly,
Lest from each gaping wound
It oozes afresh at your presence, to tell
What you did to shut heaven and opening hell.

Send them back tenderly,
Kind neighbors, who deplore
Our Massachusetts soldiers
Dead in your Baltimore—
Ye who would afford
Your mourning dwellings nigh
A shelter for the dead,
Who, living, were betrayed
By inmates that have made
Your fair town's once fair name
A hissing and a word
For treason and for shame
To call each other by—

Ye who would atone,
By every sacred rite,
For wrongs ye wanted might
To hinder—we alone
Their last sad rites must do:
'Tis theirs, and 'tis our due.
To yon we sent our living;
Send us back our dead.
You're grieving, we forgiving;
And yet the free and brave old State
That saw their infant sports, and reared
Their vigorous youth, and sent so late
Their valiant manhood forth, to do
Its best for Freedom, her, and you,
Must make their last low bed.
Unto its native dust
Must this brave dust return;
For o'er its sacred urn
The phœnix Liberty shall burn
And soar new-born; and they who sow
A martyr's ashes, straight behold
Heroes spring up an hundredfold
To guard the hallowed soil around—
A harvest meet for holy ground;
Send them to heal our common wound.

Bring them back tenderly,
Who marched hence so gallantly,
The envy of the shouting crowd,
With head aloft and bearing proud,
And fife and drum, and tramp and cheer,
To meet the death that stood so near,
While o'er them high their banner flew
To mix its stars with heaven's bright blue.
Now be the fife and drum
And brass-lipped cymbals dumb;
And let the ways, with awe-struck mourners filled,
Be hushed and stilled.
But let the unearthly organ blow,
Solemn and slow, a dull dead march
For the corpses as they go
Through the sepulchre's black arch;
And let the striped and spangled flag
That late they bore on high,
Then died beside—their fitting pall—
Upon the coffins lie;
For over sea and land
Its triumphs shall no more
Make glad the patriot soldiers
Struck dead in Baltimore.

But the Christian saith,
"Where is thy victory, Death?"
And those, in righteousness and faith,
Who their brave lives lay down before
Their country and the right,
Defeat and death know never more.
Their monuments have might
Greater than e'en their swords.
Upon their silent graves
Each blade of grass that waves
In the soft summer breezes is a tongue
That utters stirring words;
And in the strife, time-long,
Of Right with hydra Wrong,
One hero-death outweighs
A thousand lingering lives of rebels base.

Not despairing, not in gloom,
Can we turn from this grand tomb.
Now again let martial shout,
Cymbal and trump ring out.
With redoubled heart we go
To put down their murderous foe—
Until our lives the work have done,
Now by their gallant deaths begun—
Until their glorious standard
Triumphantly shall wave
From ocean unto ocean,
O'er the loyal, free, and brave.
Men and women! strive and pray,
Till the Moloch is no more,
That slew the friendly guests
In the streets of Baltimore.

E. Foxton.

DISSATISFACTION AMONG THE EMANCIPATED SERFS OF RUSSIA.

In many districts of Russia the serfs are giving trouble, from a misapprehension of the conditions of their emancipation. They cannot be made to comprehend how it is that after being emancipated they must still be substantially subject to the land-owners for a certain length of time. A letter from St. Petersburg, May 12, gives the following accounts of unhappy outbreaks:

"The regulations respecting the emancipation of the Russian peasants have given rise in the greater number of the Russian provinces to difficulties between the peasants and the landed proprietors. In many governments the peasants doubt the authenticity of the regulations published. Unequivocal signs of discontent have been manifested by the people even in the neighborhood of St. Petersburg. The serfs of MM. Caldanoff and Olkine, great landed proprietors, would not believe that they were free, and that at the same time they are bound to perform the same duties for their masters as before they were emancipated. The peasants assembled, and, having consulted with each other, they refused to work on the old terms. The government forthwith dispatched two companies of soldiers, with loaded muskets, to put an end to the mutiny. Thirty peasants were flogged, several were set to work in the mines, and the remainder, to the number of about 700, were plundered of all they possessed by the soldiers.

"In the village of Beanec, which forms part of the government of Kansan, and which belongs to M. Pousckine, an ancient senator, the peasants announced to his land agents that they would no longer work for the proprietor. The peasants of the neighboring villages, to the number of ten thousand, followed the example of those of Beanec, exclaiming that the czar had made them free and given them the land on which they had been hitherto employed, and that the good czar had indemnified the landed proprietors with money. It was in vain that the local authorities visited the villages one after the other, to explain to the peasants the meaning of the imperial regulations. During these explanations, neither the landed proprietors nor their stewards durst leave their respective dwellings. There were yet six weeks of bad weather to be passed before any field labor could be executed, and consequently the peasants had sufficient time to satisfy themselves of the folly of their conduct. General Korlianinoff, the military governor of Kansan, was, however, in his own words, determined at once 'to reestablish order and stifle the insurrection. He placed himself at the head of twelve companies, making an effective force of two thousand men, and marched against the peasants, who were assembled in a vast plain, perfectly unarmed. The general commenced firing on the peasants, and continued the fire for more than an hour. The wretched creatures had no means of escape; and although our soldiers are very bad marksmen, there were two hundred peasants killed and a vast number wounded."

Foreign Gleanings.

Monument to John Bunyan.—On Monday evening a meeting was held at the Polytechnic Institution, Regent street, for the purpose of raising funds to erect a monument to John Bunyan. Lord Shaftesbury occupied the chair, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Mr. Kirkman, the Rev. R. Maguire, and others. Resolutions pledging the meeting to efforts for the erection of the monument were adopted.

African Hospitality.—A chief in the interior country, having a great respect for me, of whom he had often heard, when I had made him my first visit, immediately ordered a slave to be killed for my dinner, and it was only with great difficulty I was able to convince him that I did not, in my own country, live on human flesh.—*Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa. By Paul B. du Chaillu.*

Wilberforce Memorial.—A sum of £3,000, being the residue of a fund raised at the time of the death of the late William Wilberforce, M.P., for the erection of a Memorial, has been, under the sanction of Chancery, made over to trustees for the foundation of an institution at Sierra Leone which will embrace a savings bank with a reading room and lecture hall. It will be under the superintendence of the Governor, the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, and two directors nominated by the Church Missionary Society.

French Prayers.—During the long French war, two old ladies in Stranraer were going to the kirk; the one said to the other, "Was it na a wonderful thing that the Breetish were aye victorious over the French in battle?" "Not a bit," said the old lady, "dinna ye ken the Breetish aye say their prayers before ga'in into battle?" The other replied, "But canna the French say their prayers as weel?" The reply was most characteristic. "Hoot! jabbering bodies, wha could *understan'* them?"

The Slave Trade.—From a return presented to the House of Commons, on the motion of Lord Alfred Churchill, it appears that the slave squadron had captured the following number of vessels during the years mentioned: 1855, 3 vessels; 1856, 4 vessels; 1857, 25 vessels; 1858, 23 vessels; 1859, 25 vessels—total, 80 vessels. The number of slaves liberated by these captures were: 1855, 90; 1856, 0; 1857, 1,912; 1858, 148; 1859, 1,974—total, 4,124 slaves. The amount paid to captors for vessels captured during the same period amounted to £94,145, 19*s.* 8*d.*

The Just and Holy Cause of Slavery.—"We feel," says President Jefferson Davis, in his Message to the Secessional Congress, "that our cause is just and holy." Could not the negroes of the Southern States, if they rose against their masters, say just as much, with at least equal justice, for their own insurrection? The less Mr. Davis says about justice and holiness the better, if he does not want to preach a dangerous doctrine, besides being considered a humbug. "Dash holiness, and justice be blanked!" is the consistent language for Mr. Jefferson Davis. "Might is right; we expect to thrash the Northerners; and the institution of slavery forever!"—*Punch.*

Mice Power.—A man in Scotland has trained a couple of mice to spin cotton very successfully. The work is so constructed that the common mouse is enabled to make atonement to society for past offences, by twisting twine, and reeling from 100 to 126 threads per day. To complete this, the little pedestrian has to run 10½ miles. A half-penny worth of oatmeal, at 1*s.* 3*d.* per peck, serves one of these treadwheel culprits for the long period of five weeks. In that time it makes 110 threads per day. At this rate a mouse earns 7*s.* 6*d.* per annum. Take off 5*d.* for food and 1*s.* for machinery, there will rise 6*s.* clear for every mouse, per annum.

Useful Properties.—A curious piece of ecclesiastical furniture, recently found in a monastery near Florence, is about to be sold at the auction mart in Paris. It is what is called a *confessional à surprise*, and is said to have been constructed in the early part of the 16th century. On one of the panels is a remarkably well-executed image of the Saviour, and to this is attached a spring, which, by means of pressure on a brass stud, caused the panel to be replaced by another, which bears a frightful figure of the Evil One, with horns on his head, terrible glaring eyes, and moving jaws garnished with formidable teeth. At the same instant a horrible noise is produced by a pair of bellows and some organ pipes, which, says the account, completes the terror the apparition would cause to a credulous sinner.

Post-mortem Peace and Quiet.—An old shoemaker in Glasgow was sitting by the bedside of his wife, who was dying. She took him by the hand. "Weel John, we're gawin to part. I hae been a gude wife to you, John." "Oh just middling, just middling, Jenny," said John, not disposed to commit himself. "John," says she, "ye maun promise to bury me in the aud kirk-yard at Stra'von, beside my mither. I couldna rest in peace among unco folk, in the dirt and smoke of Glasgow." "Weel, weel, Jenny, my woman," said John soothingly, "We'll just pit ye in the Gorbals *first*, and gin ye dinna lie quiet, we'll try you sine in Stra'von."—*Reminiscences of E. B. Ramsay.*

The King of Dahomey and his "Grand Custom."—A native missionary, who witnessed the "grand custom" of the King of Dahomey, says that more than 2,000 male human beings were slaughtered, and about as many females and young children, besides enormous numbers of deer, turkey, buzzards, and other fowl. In a commercial point of view it has also been productive of evil. It has had the effect of, in a great measure, putting a stop to trade in that part of the country. All the principal people have been compelled to repair to the capital (Abomey), and remain there to witness this custom. In Wydah there were few people but women and slaves. The palm nuts were rotting on the trees; commerce and agriculture were languishing grievously. The British government are sending 200 men to Abbeokuta to assist the natives of that town in defending themselves against an apprehended attack from the King of Dahomey. This will have a great effect, and, if followed up, probably will result in the destruction of the Dahoman power.

Do the Northern States of America really wish to Abolish Slavery?—Of what use to a truly free and really united North would be the possession of the States on the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, and on the banks of the Lower Mississippi? Were the North wise—did it hate slavery as it ought—did it fully appreciate the career that would lie before it as soon as it could declare to the world, with a clear conscience, that there were no slaves within its borders, it would hail the secession of the South as the most signal advantage that could befall; and instead of fighting to reannex slavery, would build a bridge of gold for its retreating enemy. The conflict is not only irrepressible, as Mr. Seward has declared, but irreconcilable; and unless the North is prepared not only to subdue the South, *coute qui coute*, but to abolish slavery after the conquest, its duty is to yield to the demand for separation.—*From "The Irrepressible Conflict and Higher Law," in the London Review.*

The Queen's Health.—The London correspondent of the Leeds *Intelligencer*, alluding to the betrothal of the Princess Alice to the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, says: "The marriage has been hurried on, I believe, and will take place a great deal sooner than was first intended. Her Majesty's very delicate state of health is the cause for this. It is believed to be a matter of the very first importance that something should be done to rouse her from the unnatural melancholy into which she has fallen since the death of her mother. *Apropos* to this, a curious statement was made to me in the beginning of the week, namely, that her Majesty's state of health was used as an argument against turning out the government into the lobbies of the House of Commons for a few days before the great division. It was said that if all the anxiety and worry incidental to a change of Ministry were thrown upon the Queen at the present moment, the consequences might be too serious even to speak of. There was really a good deal of force in the argument, and it had weight, I understand, with some two or three men, who consequently abstained from voting."

Photography.—Much mention is made of a machine invented by M. Ch. Fontayne, which throws off 4,000 photographic positive proofs per hour. The mechanism is said to be very simple, and the precision great. The paper upon which the proofs are printed is not prepared with the chloride of silver. It is common paper, prepared with size, and impregnated with iodine, rendering it very sensible to the action of the matter put upon the surface of the block. This paper is put upon a cylinder, and is unwound by means of clock-work, as in the Morse telegraph, slowly and regularly. The whole is inclosed in a box provided with a single opening. In this opening is placed the block (*cliché*), and the paper is arranged in such manner that it comes into contact with the block at determinate and equal times. The paper remains upon the block for about a second, when the impression is made. Every sheet of paper carries away from 200 to 250 positive proofs. To bring out the subject, the sheets are placed in a camera, and washed with gallic acid, and fixed with the hyposulphite of soda.

Influence of Cheap Newspapers on Education.—In the Rev. Mr. Fanr's report on certain agricultural districts, given in the second volume of the "Reports of the Commissioners appointed to Inquire into the State of Popular Education in England," just published, we find the following striking testimony to the immense influence cheap newspapers exercise in the instruction of the masses: "The enormous circulation of cheap newspapers is an evidence that education is intellectually leavening classes who, twenty years ago, were entire strangers to its influence. You will hardly find a village now in which two or three newspapers do not circulate. At Marden, near Hereford, I fell in with a very intelligent man, a native of Kent, but who had spent the last five or six years in Canada (chiefly in building schools), who was then engaged as foreman over the work of restoring the parish church, which had stood roofless for eight months and more. We went together to look at the new school, which had also been built under his supervision, and one of his remarks was, 'Well, sir, if education goes on as fast for the next twenty-five years as it has done for the last, this country will be greatly changed. Why then, we knew nothing [illegible] what was going on in foreign lands, even about what was doing at home; but now every man reads his newspaper, and all the speeches of our great men in Parliament. Why, even here, sir, in Marden—which I call quite a dark spot—the lads and men all like to get hold of a newspaper; and since I have been here, and have had some London papers sent me, you would be astonished to see how anxious they are to read them."

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Advertisements.

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A Depository for Anti Slavery and kindred publications has been opened in Albany, at 15 Steuben street, a few steps from the Delavan House. Among the works kept on sale at the Depository are: The Speeches and Writings of W. Lloyd Garrison; The Sermons, Lectures and Speeches of Theodore Parker; Congressional Speeches and other Discourses by Gerrit Smith; Sermons, Lectures and Essays of Rev. George B. Cheever, D.D.; Travels in Texas and the Slave States, by Fred. Law Olmsted; The Impending Crisis, original work and compendium, by H. R. Helper; The Life of Captain John Brown, and other works by Redpath; The Memoirs and Sermons of Rev. Dr. Channing; Isaac T. Hopper, a True Life, by Lydia Maria Child.

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